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RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

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No. 16.—A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND.

By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., C.I.E.

In April last Captain E. H. Cobb, I.A., Assistant Commissioner, Mardan, North-West Frontier Province, sent me an eye-copy of an inscription, engraved on a rectangular slab of white stone, which he had discovered in the foundations of an old wall at Hund on the bank of the River Indus on the occasion of his visit to that place in company with Mr. O. K. Caroe, C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, now Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department. I have deciphered the inscription from inked estampages secured through the good offices of the discoverer.

Hund is the modern name of Udabhāṇḍa, the ancient capital of the Shāhi kings of Kābul from the 9th century A.D. till 1021 A.D. when this dynasty was extirpated by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It was at Hund that Alexander the Great crossed the River Indus before he proceeded on his conquest of India and through which later invaders passed. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited this city in the 7th century A.D. and describes it as about 20 *li*, or just over three miles, in circuit and inhabited by rich and prosperous merchants. The site is now occupied by a small village surrounded by fortified walls of Muhammadan date with a perimeter of 1,400 yards. All round the village are extensive mounds marking the existence of important buildings of early date and coins of Indo-Greeks, Kushāns, Shāhi kings and the kings of Kashmīr have been found here in large numbers. No excavations have been carried out among these remains, but when they are, they may be expected to yield valuable antiquities of all kinds.

So far only a few inscriptions in Śāradā characters have been noticed on this site. Two of these were found by Lt.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes of the Hon'ble India Company's Service in the early forties of the last century and deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep.[1] Another inscription in the same character was presented to my predecessor, Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he visited Hund in 1923-24. This inscription, according to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, dates from about the 10th century A.D. and records the construction of a Śaiva temple. All the three inscriptions require proper treatment.

The stone slab on which the inscription discovered by Captain E. H. Cobb is engraved measures 1′ by 1′ by 1′4″ in thickness. The inscription consists of eight lines and is in a very good state of preservation. The characters are Śāradā of the 8th century A.D. and the language Sanskrit, which is not free from grammatical mistakes. The epigraph records the construction of a *dēvakula*, *i.e.*, 'statue shrine' or temple by a *Mahārājñī Śrī*-Kāmēśvarīdēvī and its consecration between Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the year Saṁvat 168 and Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashāḍha in the year Saṁvat 169. The architect (*navakarmapati*) who supervised the construction, was Jayantarāja, son of Upēndra. He was an Āvantika or inhabitant of Avanti or Mālwā, and a Sūryadvija. The *paṁchakula* was the Brāhmaṇa, Śrī-Pillaka, the son of Śrī-Vīrāditya. The exact meaning of *paṁchakula* is not known. In his article[2] on the Siyadoni Stone Inscription, Professor Kielhorn defines this term as "an office apparently similar to the Marāṭhī पंच or पंचाइत" or "an assembly of five" who manage affairs of a town. If this interpretation is correct, we should assume Pillaka of the inscription under discussion to have been the head or

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 876 *seq.* and Pl. XLVI.
[2] Above, Vol. I, pp. 166 and 170.

foreman of an assembly of this nature. The Kāyastha, who composed this inscription, was Śrī-**Bhōgika**, a Sūryadvija, who was the son of Śrī-Vihēnda. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, following Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar[1], suggests that this term *Sūryadvija* may be taken in the sense of the Maga or Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas who were the special priests of the Sun-god and are traditionally supposed to have sprung from the Sun. The era in which the dates of this inscription are recorded is not mentioned. I have, however, no doubt that these should be referred to the **Harshakāla era** which began in the year 606 A.D. and was in ancient times in use in the Panjāb, the United Provinces, Bihār and Orissa, Nepāl, etc. If this assumption is correct, the years mentioned would be equivalent to 774 and 775 A.D.

In the above paragraph I have given the term *dēvakula* the alternative meaning of a 'statue shrine' on the analogy of the *dēvakula* of the Ikshvāku kings of Ayōdhyā in Bhāsa's play called the *Pratimā-nāṭakam*. This gallery of the heroes of the Ikshvāku race differed from a divine temple in having neither the banner of a god nor the statues of door-keepers. It was open to visitors, but the statues enshrined in it were not to be bowed to. A structure of this nature was excavated in a mound near Mathurā some 23 years ago. Another literary reference to a *dēvakula* occurs in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikam* where, however, the precise character of the shrine is not quite clear. The earliest mention of such a structure in an inscription is that found in the inscription on the base of the headless statue of Vamatakshama (?) which was found in an ancient site at Mat near Mathurā. This site also yielded other statues of Kushāṇa kings, *viz.*, one of Kanishka, a torso of the great Śaka *satrap* Chashṭana, etc.

TEXT

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति १ ॥ महाराज्ञी श्रीकामिश्वरीदेव्या सत्क
2 देवकुले नवकर्मपति उपेन्द्रपुत्त्रजयन्तरा-
3 ज आवन्तिको । सूर्यद्विजो: ॥ पंचकुल श्रीवीरादि-
4 त्यपुत्त्र श्रीपिल्लकब्राह्मण: ॥ ॥ कायस्थ श्रीविहे-
5 न्दपुत्त्र श्रीभोगिक सूर्यद्विज: ॥ ॥ इति
6 संवत् १६८[3] आश्वयुजवति ८ शनौ: अतो
7 दिना आरभ्य संवत् १६९ आषाढ़शुति १२ वृहौ[4] प्र-
8 तिष्ठा क्रता:[5] ॥ ॥ = ॥

No. 17.—JETHWAI PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA QUEEN SILAMAHADEVI; SAKA-SAMVAT 708.

BY PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

These plates were sent to me for decipherment by the late Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar when he was Huzur Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. They were discovered some

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1 *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pp. 151ff.

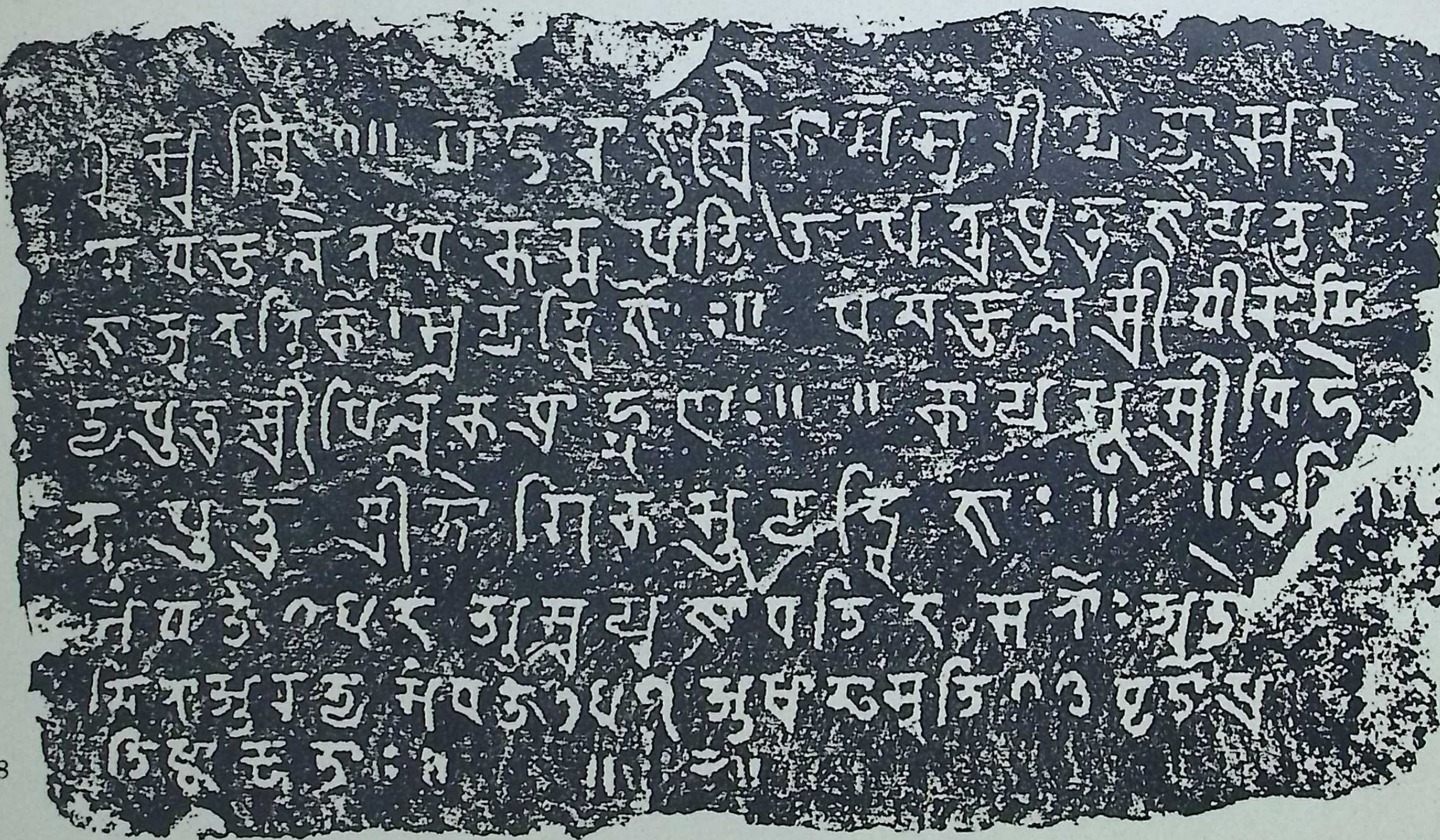
2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 [In ll. 6 and 7 the second digit of the year looks more like 5 than 6. But in neither case the date admits of verification from the particulars given in the inscription.—Ed.]

4 Perhaps shortened form of वृहस्पतौ.

5 The text as found in the inscription is retained without any corrections.

A Sarada Inscription from Hund.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Scale: One-Half.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 3370 E'34-445.

thirty or thirty-five years ago in a small dilapidated fort on a hill near the village of Jethwai, about 8 miles west of Barwaha, in the Nimār district of the Indore State. One Babaji named Hirapuri, I am told, lighted upon them while digging into a brick and stone platform in the fort for materials for the construction of his house at Jethwai.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring $9\frac{9}{10}'' \times 6\frac{3}{5}''$. The middle one of these is thicker than the side ones. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing. The plates are strung together on an oval ring with a diameter measuring between $2\frac{3}{5}''$ and 3″. On the left side of the plates, a round hole is bored for the ring, and the second plate seems to have been slightly damaged through this boring operation. To the back of the ring is fixed a circular **seal** with a diameter measuring $1\frac{1}{2}''$. The seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plate, and on both sides of the second. There are sixteen lines engraved on the first plate, sixteen lines on the first and seventeen lines on the second side of the second plate, and nineteen lines on the inner side of the third plate. The grant thus contains sixty-eight lines engraved in all.

The **language** in which the grant is written is Sanskrit throughout. The first thirty-five lines with part of the thirty-sixth, which set forth the genealogical account, line 40 and parts of lines 39 and 41 which contain a stanza descriptive of the transitoriness of human life, and lines 60-65, with parts of lines 59 and 66 which contain the benedictive and imprecatory verses are in verse and the rest in prose. The genealogical verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters hitherto published, except two, namely, stanzas 21 and 24, which are found only in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja.[1] Stanza 21 contains mere stereotyped praise, but stanza 24 is historically important. The **script** used in this inscription is Nāgarī, as is generally the case with the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters. As regards **orthography,** the consonants following *r* are, as a rule doubled, though indifference in this respect is noticeable in some cases, thus *k* and *ṇ* are doubled in *Karkkarāja* (l. 7) and *Kārṇṇāṭakaṁ* (ll. 10-11), but not in *ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇava* (l. 53). The letter *b* is, as a rule, denoted by the sign for *b*, but also by the sign for *v* in a few cases, such as *svalp-āmvu* (l. 40), *saṁvadhyamāna* (l. 42) and so on. The *anusvāra* is changed to *n* and *ñ* in conjunction with a following *n* or *ch*, once, in *dhvastin=nayan* (l. 2), and once in *kulañ=cha* (l. 4). The *visarga* is changed to *ś* in conjunction with a following *ś*, once in *niśśēshaṁ* (l. 33) though it is retained in *niḥśēshá°* (l. 16). Ṅ is used instead of the *anusvāra* once in *rājasiṅhaḥ* (l. 3). As regards **lexicography,** lines 48-52 contain some words such as *drōṅgarikā*, *vaha* and so forth, the exact import of which is not known.

The inscription is one of **Śīla-mahādēvī,** wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Dhruva,** or, as she is described in lines 37-39, *Paramēśvarī Parama-bhaṭṭārikā Śrī-Śīlamahādēvī*, the great queen of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhārāvarsha*, the illustrious Dhruvarājadēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Akālavarshadēva, *i.e.*, his father Kṛishṇa I. She is described as the princess of the illustrious Viṭṭarasa *alias* Vishṇuvardhana who bore the epithet of *Sarva-lōk-āśraya*, 'Support of the whole world'. The latter is doubtless Vishṇuvardhana IV. of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruling at Vēṅgī. In his account of this dynasty J. F. Fleet[2] says that he was son of Vijayāditya I. and reigned for thirty-six years from A.D. 764 to 799. He is called Vishṇuvardhana in all inscriptions except one. In this last his name is given as Vishṇurāja which is no doubt the Sanskrit form of Viṭṭarasa. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Śīla-mahādēvī being the daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king, Vishṇuvardhana IV.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village by Śīla-mahādēvī to two Brāhmaṇs. The village granted is **Kōlēpadra,** situated in the district of **Nāndīpuradvārī.** The

[1] See above, Vol. XXI, p. 142.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

boundaries of the village have been specified. One of the donees was **Mārachcha**, son of Māradi. He was an *adhvaryu* and a religious student of the Kāṇva-*śākhā*. His native place was Kurugōṭa, and he pertained to the Śālaṅkāyana-*gōtra*. The other donee was **Durgāditya**, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He also was an *adhvaryu*, but was a religious student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. His native place was Nāndīpuradvārī. He was a member of the Community of Brāhmaṇs well versed in the four Vēdas (*chāturvidya-sāmānya*) belonging to his place, and pertained to the Jātūkarṇya-*gōtra*. The occasion of the grant was the eclipse of the sun which occurred in the **Śaka year 708 expired on the Amāvāsyā day of the dark half of the Aśvayuja** (Āśvina). This corresponds to Wednesday, 27th September, A.D. 786, when there was a solar eclipse.

It will be seen that the donor of the grant is a queen. And what is noteworthy about it is that she grants a village and issues the charter without any formal sanction or approval being given by her husband, king Dhruvarāja. This gives rise to an interesting question about the polity of Ancient India. Instances are not unknown of grants being made by queens. We have thus the Naihāṭi Plate of the Sēna king Ballālasēna, recording and sanctioning the grant of a village by his mother Vilāsadēvī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.[1] As Vilāsadēvī was the wife of Vijayasēna who was then dead, one can easily understand why her grant had to be approved and sanctioned by her son Ballālasēna who was then the living king. The case was different with Prabhāvatiguptā who issued the Poona Plates.[2] She was the *agramahishī* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I. But when she issued the grant, she was Regent during the minority of her son Divākarasēna.[3] This is, no doubt, an interesting item of information, because it shows that women could administer a kingdom when their sons were minors. But as she was practically the ruler, it is intelligible how she could issue a charter without sanction being accorded to it by an extraneous higher authority. Nevertheless, be it noted, the charter has a seal bearing not her own name, but that of her son, namely, Divākarasēna. Far more interesting perhaps are the grants of Tribhuvana-Mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-Mahādēvī, both of the Kara family of Guhēśvara-pāṭaka.[4] The first of these was the daughter of Rājamalla, a king of the south, and Queen of Lalitabhāradēva. After the death of her husband, the feudatory chieftains of the kingdom approached her with a request to accept the sovereignty come to her in course of succession, and cited the instance of Dēvī Gōsvāminī who apparently belonged to the same family and who agreed to administer the kingdom under similar circumstances. And in compliance with their request, we are told, she ascended the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī. The name of the other female ruler furnished by this dynasty is that of Daṇḍi-mahādēvī, who was the daughter of the Kara king Śubhākara. That both Tribhuvana-mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-mahādēvī were real rulers is proved by the charters they issued on their sole authority, and, above all, by the titles which they bore, namely, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirājā Paramēśvarī*. The only difference between these two is that while Tribhuvana-mahādēvī was married into the Kara family, Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was apparently a virgin of that family. Whether the latter could have continued to be the ruler if she had been married is a most interesting point of law with which, however, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, both of these queens were rulers in reality, and it is therefore no wonder if they could issue grants in their own names, with their own dates and seals and without any extraneous sanction. But what about Śīla-mahādēvī, Queen of Dhruvarāja, who is the donor of

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 159ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 41f.

[3] Another grant of Prabhāvatiguptā is known which she made when she was a hundred years old. Though the village was granted by her, the plates refer themselves to a regnal year of her third son, Pravarasēna (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of North. Ind. Inscrs.*, No. 1706 ; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58ff).

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 422-23, ll. 16-20 Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1413, 1416 and 1906.

our charter ? She was neither a Regent during the minority of any one of her sons, nor an autonomous ruler. And yet she issues a grant on her own authority and without the approval of her husband, Dhruvarāja. This is rather a case which deserves further consideration. For an entirely different procedure seems to have been followed in the case of the Gāhaḍavāla family. It seems that Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājñīs*, one Nayaṇakēlidēvī and the other Gōsaladēvī, both *paṭṭamahādēvīs*, apparently not at one and the same time. Both issue grants, Nayaṇakēlidēvī in V. 1176 and Gōsaladēvī in V. 1208[1]. But though the grants are surely made by them, they have been issued with the express approval of Gōvindachandra in spite of the fact that each one of them is a *paṭṭamahādēvī* and is described as *samastarājaprakriyōpētā* which Kielhorn renders by " endowed with all royal prerogatives ". Such was not, however, the case with Śīla-mahādēvī whose titles *paramēśvarī paramabhaṭṭārikā* do not seem to be empty and unmeaning. Because in the prose portion of the inscription which really sets forth the details of the grant, she herself issues orders to the officers concerned with the village granted. At the end of the record also, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the document carry out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja, but of Śīla-mahādēvī. And further there is nothing in the draft of the charter which shows that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This shows that the high-sounding royal titles which are coupled with her name are not an empty boast, but are a clear indication that she was a co-partner of her husband in the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty. Two questions here arise : first, how could she be a co-partner of her husband in royal sovereignty, and, secondly, are there any more instances of this kind ?

It is well known that in ancient times wife and husband were jointly concerned in all the affairs of the life, not excluding the administration of a kingdom, and that in process of time this co-right of woman fell into desuetude in North India, but continued to be recognised for a long time in South India. Thus when a member of a royal family was crowned king, he was originally crowned along with his wife. Two instances will here suffice. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the coronation of Rāma, and the following significant line appears in that connection : *tataḥ sa prayato vṛiddhō Vasishṭhō brāhmaṇaiḥ saha | Rāmāṁ ratna-mayē pīṭhē sa-Sītaṁ saṁnyavēśayat||.*[2] This shows that when Rāma was crowned king, he was crowned not alone, but along with Sītā. The coronation of another epic hero that is always uppermost in the mind of a Hindu is that of Yudhishṭhira, with reference to which the following verse occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *upavēśya mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ cha Drupad-ātmajām.*[3] This also shows clearly that Yudhishṭhira was crowned sovereign not alone, but jointly with Draupadī. If this kind of coronation has a meaning (and certainly it was originally not a mere formality), it must mean that both husband and wife were co-sharers of the sovereignty so conferred upon them. This alone can explain why in the charter issued by Śīla-mahādēvī there is no approval or sanction given to it by Dhruvarāja. Being crowned along with her husband, she had as much authority to issue the grant in her name as he had in his.

It may, however, be contended that this line of reasoning, spacious as it is, is not convincing, unless more instances can be adduced to show that husband and wife jointly shared the ruling authority. And luckily such instances are by no means unknown though, so far as I know, they come from South India. Attention may be drawn to the Baṅkāpūr Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. when in Śaka 977 the Kādamba chieftain Harikēsaridēva was administering the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, we are told, not alone and by himself, but in company with his

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 108ff ; Vol. V, pp. 117 ff.
[2] *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*, *Sarga*, 128, v. 59.
[3] *Śānti-P*, *Sarga* 40, v. 14 (Bengali Recension).

wife Lachchaladēvī.[1] Here is thus a clear instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a province. If we, however, want to know whether, as a matter of fact, a crowned queen can issue a charter on her own authority, that instance is supplied by Vijaya-mahādēvī, wife of Chandrāditya who was the elder brother of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I. of Bādāmi. We have not one, but two, copper-plate grants issued by her.[2] And these grants she has made independently and without reference to her husband or Vikramāditya I. This authority she must have derived from her position as *mahishī* or crowned queen, as she has actually been called, of Chandrāditya. But this joint rule by husband and wife is not a phenomenon of the mediæval period of Ancient India. We thus have another instance in Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 which contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana, by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty and the grant of a fresh plot of land in lieu of the old uncultivable one, to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave.[3] It is a regular deed of grant bristling with fiscal terms and containing at the end the name of the engraver and the dates of the original donation and the actual execution. But who issues this order to the Officer at Gōvardhana ? Not Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi by himself, but he and his wife together. This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both co-partners in the Śātavāhana sovereignty. It will thus be seen that in ancient times both husband and wife had joint interest in the exercise of sovereignty and that they could issue a grant jointly or separately in his or her name without reference to the other party. It is worthy of note that all the instances here adduced whether of a queen exercising joint authority along with her husband, or of a queen acting as Regent during the minority of her son or of a princess ruling sole sovereign as a virgin or a widowed queen are supplied from the history of South India. Whether there was such law applicable to North India in historical times we do not know.

We will now proceed to the consideration of other matters arising from our plates. There are two grants which refer to the reign of Dhruvarāja. The latter of these is the one whose contents we are discussing and which is dated Śaka 708. The earlier is the Pimpari Plates[4] dated Śaka 697. This last comes into conflict with the Dhulia grant of Karkarāja, son of this Dhruvarāja, because this inscription which is dated Śaka 701 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Gōvindarāja II., though his younger brother Dhruvarāja, as we know from Pimpari Plates, was already ruling in Śaka 697. K. B. Pathak, who has edited these Plates, therefore, declares the Dhulia grant to be a spurious record. I agree with Pathak in his conclusion, but not for the reasons he has alleged. His main contention is as follows. He invites our attention first to the passage :

श्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य .. .. प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [।*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजन्ना(नामा) महानुभावो विह्तिप्रतापः[:*] [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्र[:*] चूडामणि (क्रमेण) वालार्क्कवपुर्व्वभूव । ... तस्य सुत ...... श्रीकर्क्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्व्वानेव ..... समाज्ञापयति[5]

Here the expression तदाज्ञया, says Pathak, can only mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". He therefore naturally asks : " how could Karkarāja order all his feudatories by the command of Dhruvarāja, in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II., when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign ?" But the expression तदाज्ञया need not necessarily mean " by the command of Dhruvarāja ". It may also mean " by the command of Gōvindarāja ". If the latter view is

[1] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 168, 171 (l. 28), and 174.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15 ; *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18.
[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 73.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 85ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 186, ll. 26-30.

accepted, the objection raised by Pathak becomes null and void. His other objection, however, is more important though he has put it forth rather cryptically. In the quotation just given from the Dhulia grant, there is a stanza descriptive of Dhruva which begins with *tasya=ānujaḥ* and which occurs in many Rāshṭrakūṭa records. But the last line of this stanza is not correctly worded, especially the initial part of it. It begins with *chūḍāmaṇi* instead of with *kramēṇa* as in the other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. Besides, *chūḍāmaṇi*, as it is, causes a cæsura of the metre. And what is curious is that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters where this stanza is given, it is followed by another beginning with *jātē yatra cha*. This stanza, however, contains the word *chūḍāmaṇau* which was probably sticking to the memory of the scribe who was writing out the Dhulia grant and which unwittingly fell through his pen while he was writing the last line of the preceding stanza. It is thus plain that both the stanzas were known to the scribe who prepared the draft of the Dhulia grant. Now, it is a fact well-known to an epigraphist that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters there are certain verses which are peculiar to certain Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. These verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when those kings were on the throne. The verses beginning with *tasya-ānujaḥ* and *jātē yatra cha* could thus have been composed only when Dhruvarāja was the king. And the question naturally arises: how could these verses which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor? The verse जाते यत्र च etc., as pointed out by Pathak, describes Dhruva as a paramount sovereign. When Dhruva was thus a sovereign, no Rāshṭrakūṭa record can refer itself to the reign of his predecessor Gōvindarāja II., as the Dhulia grant undoubtedly does. Secondly, unless we suppose that the Dhulia grant is a forgery, a chronological discrepancy must arise which we cannot get over. As indicated above, whereas the Pimpari Plates of Dhruva are dated Śaka 697, his present plates are dated Śaka 708. We thus obtain a period ranging between Śaka 697 and 708 during which Dhruva reigned. And this period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant as a genuine one. For if Gōvindarāja II. ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701 as the Dhulia grant implies. Evidence thus points to the irresistible conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one.

The last date of their father Kṛishṇarāja is Śaka 694 supplied by the Bhāṇḍak Plates.[1] And the earliest date known for Dhruva is, as we have seen, Śaka 697 which is the date of his Pimpari charter. Gōvinda II. thus seems to have ruled between Śaka 694 and 697. This is no doubt a brief reign, but we know the cause of it, namely, that he was ousted from his throne by his younger brother Dhruva. To ascertain how he came to be so ousted, we will here quote accounts from three different charters and then piece them together so as to give a whole and intelligent story. The Dēōlī and Karhāḍ grants[2] of Kṛishṇa III. say that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". The Daulatābād Plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa record that "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family".[3] The Paiṭhāṇ Plates of Gōvinda III. furnish the following information in two stanzas.[4] "Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were, (such as) the ruler of Mālava and so forth joined by the lord of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga, and (the prince) of Vēṅgī, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 123ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 194 and pp. 196-7, v. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, ll. 30-34.

ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter when, even after conciliation and other (remedies), Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja), the great ruler, speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north, and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pālidhvaja* ". If we now piece together these items of information, we arrive at the following conclusions : (1) Gōvinda II. entrusted the government of the kingdom to Dhruva, because he gave himself up to sensual pleasures ; (2) the consequence was that Dhruva became the sovereign *ipso facto* ; (3) Gōvinda became alive to the danger of the situation and entrusted the government to another who apparently was not a Rāshṭrakūṭa in lineage ; (4) Dhruva thereupon revolted, and Gōvinda, to protect himself, entered into an alliance with kings who were otherwise inimical to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family ; and (5) Dhruva made overtures to Gōvinda by offering him gold and precious stones, but as the latter gave a battle, Dhruva fought, defeated his brother, and made himself supreme.

The kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance were, as we have seen above, the ruler of Mālava, the Gaṅga prince and the lord of Vēṅgī. In this connection we may take note of a verse about Dhruva which is an important one for the Rāshṭrakūṭa history and which is verse 24 of our grant[1]. It says : " As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*durga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gaṅgas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull (Nandī) as his badge and ashes (for his use), displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God) ". It is evident that this stanza is susceptible of *double entendre*. The mythological sense is clear enough. But so far as the historical sense is concerned, it supplies us with two facts of importance. The first is that Dhruva was a sworn enemy of the Gaṅgas. This follows from the verses quoted from the Paiṭhāṇ Plates. The Gaṅga prince was actually one of the allies who had come to the help of Gōvinda when Dhruva was ousting him. It was therefore natural that Dhruva could never forgive the Gaṅga king. His hostilities with the Gaṅgas have been referred to also in other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The second historical fact to be deduced from the same verse of our grant is that he made his own the prosperity of a ruler whose family insignia was the bull. Who could this prince be ? Obviously he could be no other than a prince of the (Eastern) Chālukya family of Vēṅgī who had the bull as their badge[2]. And this prince again could be no other than his father-in-law, Vishṇuvardhana IV. The latter was no doubt an ally of Dhruva when our grant was issued. But it could not have been so originally, for we know that like the Gaṅga prince, the Vēṅgī also favoured Gōvinda II. and opposed Dhruva. Now Vishṇuvardhana IV., the Chālukya ruler of Vēṅgī, we have seen, ruled from A.D. 764 to 799, whereas Gōvinda II. from A.D. 772 to 775. Vishṇuvardhana therefore must have been the ally of Gōvinda II. and adversary of Dhruva about 775. But it seems that after Gōvinda II. was finally ousted, Vishṇuvardhana made alliance with Dhruva which was cemented by the latter marrying his daughter.

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[1] The same verse occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja (v. 24) as stated above. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who has edited them, however, interprets it differently.

[2] [That the Eastern Chālukyas had boar as their badge and not bull is clear from the expression *vara-varāha-lāñchhana* found in their inscriptions and the figure of a boar on the seals of many of the copper plates issued by them. The reference here is probably to the Pallavas of Kāñchī who had the bull as their emblem as is evidenced by their seals. We know from the Paiṭhāṇ plates that the Lord of Kāñchī was one of the kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance.—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [।*] स वोव्य(व्या)द्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य
क(का)न्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं [॥1*]

2 आसीद्विषन्तिमिर[3]मुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः
शुचिर्व्विधुरिवा-

3 स्तदिगन्त[4]कीर्त्तिर्ग्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति राजसु राजसिङ्हः[5] [॥ 2*] दृष्ट्वा चमूम-
भिमुखीं सुभटाट्टाहसा[6]मुन्ना-

4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।(।) दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटि[7] ललाटे
खड्ग[8] कुलंञ्च(च) हृदयं च निजं च सत्व[9] ।[। 3*]

5 खड्गं करग्रा मु[10]खतश्च शोभ(भा) मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । [म]ह(हा)-
हवे नम[11] निश(ा)म्य सद्यस्त्रयं रि-

6 पु(पू)णां विगलत्यकण्डे[12] ॥ [4*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरर्त्त
र्त्ति[13]हारिहरिविक्रमधमधरि[14] [।*] भूपस्तृ(स्त्रि)वि-

7 ष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्क्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥ [5*] तस्य
द्विभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहर-[15]

8 रुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [।*] च्मप:[16] षितौ[17] क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूज[:*] सद्राष्ट्रकू-
टकनकद्रि[18]रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[6*]

9 तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्र-
तुसदृषः[19] श्री-

10 दन्तिदुर्ग्गरजोभुत्[20] ॥[7*] काञ्चीशकेरलनरधिप[21]चोलपण्ड्य[22]श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा-
नदक्षं [।*] कार्ण्ण-

11 टकं[23] बलमनंत्य[24]मजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[8*] [25]अभ्रुवि-
भङ्गमगृहित[26]निशातश-

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1 From the original plates and impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read °त्तिमिर°.

4 Read °वास्तदिगन्त.

5 Read सिंहः.

6 Read °टाट्टहासा°.

7 Read भ्रुकुटिं.

8 Read खड्गं.

9 Read सत्त्वम्.

10 Read करायान्मु°.

11 Read नाम.

12 Read °काण्डे.

13 Read °रार्त्तार्त्ति°.

14 Read धामधारी.

15 Read प्रहार.

16 Read क्ष्माप:.

17 Read क्षितौ.

18 Read कनकाद्रि.

19 Read सदृशः.

20 Read राजोभूत्.

21 Read नराधिप.

22 Read पाण्ड्य.

23 Read कार्ण्णाटकं.

24 Read बलमनन्त°.

25 Read अभ्रू°.

26 Read °गृहीत.

12 स्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहतन्न[1]मपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-

13 मवाप ॥[9*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्रालेयकलङ्किता-मलशिलाजा-

14 लात्तुषाराचलात् ।(।) आ पूर्व्वापरव(वा)रिराशिपू(पु)लिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे[2] येनेयं जगती स्वविक्रमबले-

15 नैकातपत्रा[3] कृता ॥[10*] त[स्मिन्दिवं प्र]या[ते व]ल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजाबाधः [।*] श्रीकर्क्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृ-

16 ष्णराजोभू[त्] ॥[11*] यस्य स्वभुजपरक्रम[4]निः(॥)शेषोत्सादितारिदिक्चक्रं ।(।) कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं

Second Plate ; First Side.

17 श्रीकृष्णरजस्य[5] ॥[12*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्द्धरुद्धरविकिरणं [।*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं

18 प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[13*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं ।(।) तत्क्षणमकालव-

19 र्षं वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वपणं ॥[14*] राहप्पमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमाजौ विजित्य निशितासिलता-

20 प्रहारैः [।*] पालिध्वज[6]वलिशुभामचिरे[ण यो हि रा]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरता[7] ततान ॥[15*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-

21 ड्गप्रसृतरुचिचयैर्भासमानं [8]समंता ।जादुद्वृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं ।(।) शौर्यं

22 त्यक्तारिवर्ग्गा[9] भयचकितवपुः क्वा[ऽ]प[10] दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो दर्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरस-गमद्वस[11] दोर्द्दण्ड-

23 रू(रू)पं ॥[16*] पाता यस्तुरं(र)म्बुर(रा)शिरशनालंकारभाजो भुवस्त्रय्याश्चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपु(पू)-

24 जादरः ।(।) द(दा)ता म(मा)नभृदग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्ग्गफल(ला)नि भूरितप-

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[1] Read °प्रतिहताज्ञ°.
[2] Read प्रसिद्धावधेर्यें°.
[3] Read पत्री°.
[4] Read स्वभुजपराक्रम.
[5] Read °राजस्य.
[6] Read °ध्वजा°
[7] Read °तां ततान.
[8] Read समन्तादाजावुद्वृत्त.
[9] Read वर्ग्गा.
[10] Read क्वापि.
[11] Read °द्यस.

25 सा स्थानं जगामामरं ॥[17*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्रातताापात्सलीलं
जग्मे नासीरधूली-

26 धवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभ(भा)ख्यः सदाजौ [।*] स श्रीगोविन्दराजो जितज-
गदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्त-

27 स्यासीत्सतुरेका[1] चणरणदलित(ता)रातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[18*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधु(ध्रु)-
वराजनामा मह(हा)नुभावो-

28 प्रहतप्रत(ता)पः [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बलर्क्क[2]वपुर्ब्बभूव ॥[19*]
जते[3] यत्र च राष्ट्रकु(कू)ट-

29 [ति]लके सद्भूपचुढमणौ[4] गुर्व्वीं तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [।*]
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्र-

30 श(शा)सति सति क्ष्मामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुण(णा)मृतनिधौ सत्यव्रता-
धिष्ठिते ॥[20*] शशध-

31 रकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरनगाग्रसानुस्थैः [।*] परिगीयतेनुरक्तैर्व्विदधर-[5]
सुन्दरीनिव-

32 हैः ॥[21*] हृष्टोन्वहं योथि(र्थि)जनाय नित्यं सर्व्वस्वामानंन्दितबधुवर्ग्गः[6] [।*]
प्रदा प्ररुष्टो[7] हरति

Second Plate; Second Side.

33 स्म धगात्[8] प्राणान्यमस्य(स्या)पि नितान्तवीयः[9] [॥22*] रक्षती(ता) येन
निश्शेष(षं) चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं [।*]

34 राज्यं धर्म्मण[10] लोकाना(नां) कृता तुष्टिः परा हृदि [॥23*] योसौ प्रसि-
(सा)धितजगत्र(त्त्र)यसारदुगो[11] गंगौ-

35 घसन्ततिनिरोधविवृद्धनीत्तिः[12] [।*] [13]श्रान्मीकृतोन्नतहृषाङ्कविभूतिरुच्चैर्व्यक्ता तंतान[14]
परमेश्व-

36 [र]तामिहैकः ।[। 24*] तस्य परमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकाल-

37 [व]र्षं[देव]प(पा)दानुध्यातपरमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधार(रा)वर्षं-

38 श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य महादेवी सर्व्वलोकाश्रयविष्णुवर्द्धनश्रीविट्टरसराजदु-

[1] Read °त्सूनुरेकः.
[2] Read बालार्क्क.
[3] Read जाते.
[4] Read चूडामणौ.
[5] Read °रक्तैर्व्विद्याधर.
[6] Read सर्व्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धु°.
[7] Read प्रादात्प्ररुष्टो.
[8] Read वेगात्.
[9] Read °वीर्य्यः.
[10] Read धर्म्मेण.
[11] Read दुर्गों
[12] Read कीर्त्तिः.
[13] Read श्वात्मी°
[14] Read °रुच्चैर्व्यक्तां ततान.

39 हिता परमेश्वरी परमभट्टारिका श्रीशीलमहादेवीं ॥ तयेदमालोल-

40 तृणाग्रलग्नस्वल्पाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दभ्रुवमाकलय्य [।*] नृजीवितं धर्म्मनिबद्धबुद्ध्या
द्विजा-

41 तिदायोयमकारि भूरिः [॥ 25*] सा च धारावर्षश्रीमहादेवी कुशली(लिनी)
सर्व्वं(र्व्वा)ने-

42 व यथासवध्यमानकाराष्ट्र[1] पतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकन(नि)युक्तयुक्ताधि-

43 कार(रि)कमहत्तरादीन(न्) समादिशति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मय(या) स(मा)तापि-

44 त्रोरात्मनश्चैहैकासुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये[2] श्रीकुरुगोटवास्तव्यशा-

45 लंकायनसगोत्र-अध्वयु[3]-काण्वसब्रह्मच(चा)रि-ब्राह्मण-मारदि-सूनु[र्म्मा]रव्व: ॥

46 श्रीनान्दीपु(पु)रद्वारीवास्तव्य-तच्चातुर्व्विद्य[4]स(सा)मान्य-जातूकण्यसगोत्र[5]-अध्वयु[3]-माध्यन्दि-

47 नसब्रह्मचारि-ब्राह्मण-भट्टनारायण-सूनु-दुर्गं(र्गा)दित्य: [।*] आद्या[6] श्रीमन्नान्दीपु-

48 रद्वारी-दिषयन्तर्गत:[7] कोलव(प)द्रनामग्राम: यस्याघट्टनानि पूर्वत:[8] तटनअ-

49 पन्नासारवद्दानिस्सोयिसंगमस्यरणिफालग्रामस्य[9]

Third Plate.

50 दक्षिणत: निस्सोईकुण्डलावद्दा: नियदिपद्रग्रामस्य तत[10] दोङ्गरिका च उखल-
पद्रग्रामस्य

51 तदहस्य पश्चिमत: उखलपद्री नाम नदिका तोरणपद्रनाम ग्राम[11] झंकरि-
पटनिस्सोईसं-

52 गम: भद्रवटग्रामस्य उ[त्त]रतो द्रोगरिका[12] नवग्रामस्य एत[दा]घट्ट[नो]पलक्षित:
सधन्यहिरण्यदेय[13]

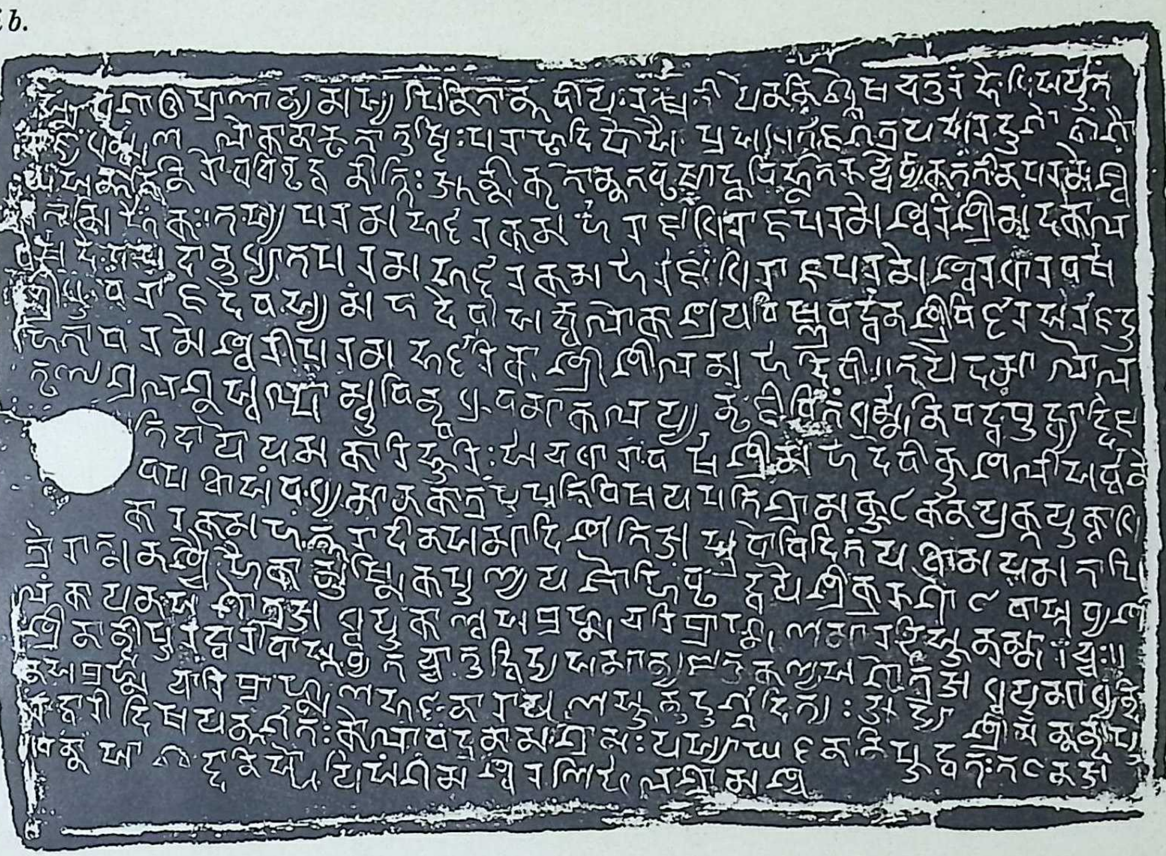
53 अचाटभटप्राविश्य(श्य:) अखिलराजकीय(या)[नामहस्तप्रक्षे]पणीय: आचन्द्रार्का-
र्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसम-

54 कालीत(न:) भूमिछिद्रन्यायेन[14] शकभूपालक[ा]ल[ातीतसंव]त्सरशतसप्तके अषोत्तरक[15]
अश्वयुजकृष्णाम-

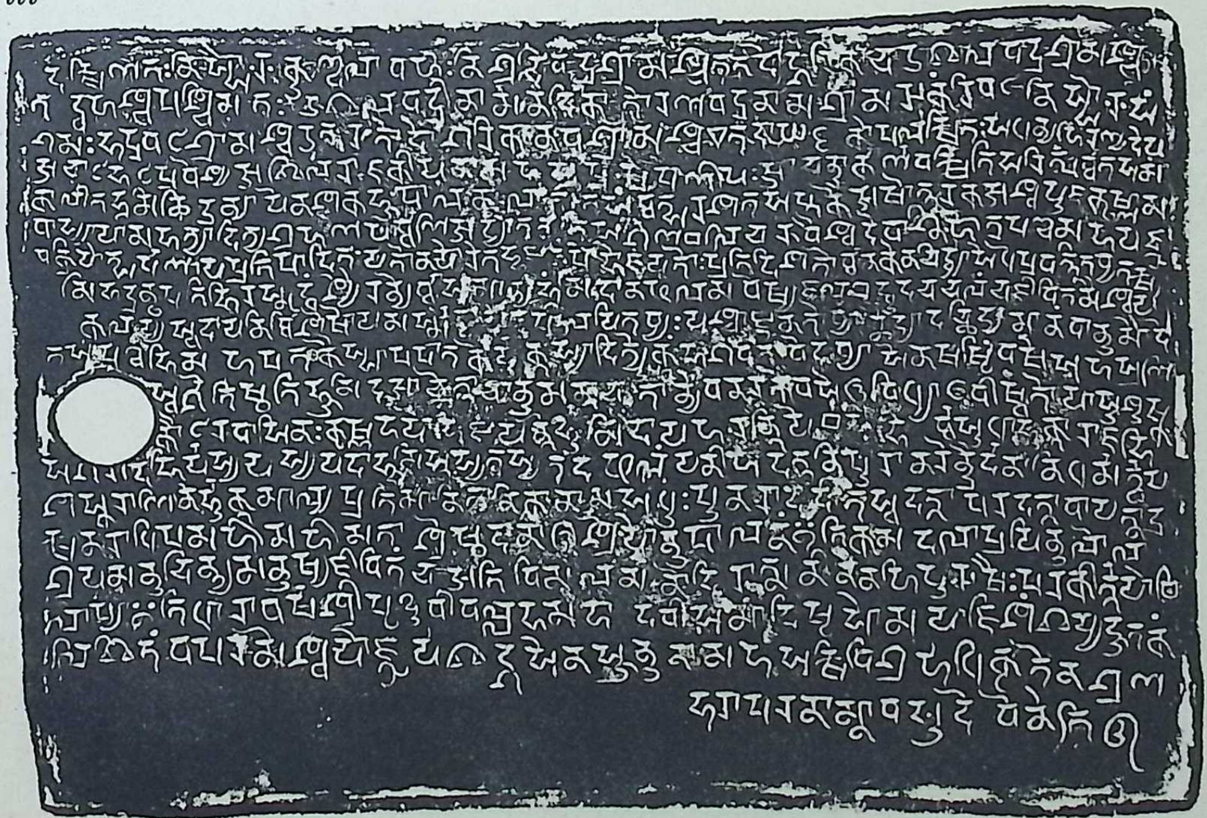
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[1] Read °संबध्यमानकानाष्ट्र°.
[2] Read °श्चैहिका°.
[3] Read अध्वर्यु
[4] Read तच्चातुर्व्विद्य°.
[5] Read जातूकर्ण्य.
[6] Read आभ्यां.
[7] Read विषया°.
[8] Read पूर्व्वत:.
[9] It is difficult to correct and punctuate the words from तटन to ग्रामस्य. Perhaps they may stand for तटन-अपन्ना-सारवद्दा-निस्सीयि-संगमअरणिफालग्रामस्य.
[10] Read ततो.
[11] Read °नामा ग्रामो.
[12] This seems to be the Sanskritised form of दोङ्गरिका in l. 50, and is probably the name of a river. [The word *ḍōṅgara* is found in other inscriptions also (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII. p. 120, ll. 31 and 33). According to Kittel *doṅgara* or *ḍoṅgara* means 'a hill', a steep rock. Possibly *ḍōṅgarikā* has been used here in the sense of 'a hillock'.—Ed.]
[13] Read सधान्यहिरण्यादेय:.
[14] Read भूमिच्छिद्र°.
[15] Read अष्टोत्तरके.

ii b.



iii



N. P. Chakravarti.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3373 E'35-425.

55 वास्याया[1] महत्यादित्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि अद्य[ातकति]सर्गण[2] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-
पञ्चमहयज्ञ-[3]

56 पक्रियोत्सर्पणाय प्रतिपादित: [।*] यतोनयोरेतभ्भजानयो:(र्झुंजानयो:) भोजयतो:
प्रतिदिशतोर्व्वं(र्व्वा) न केनचिद्व्यासेधे प्रवत्तितव्य[4] [।*] तच्च[5]

57 स्मिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्ये(न्यै)र्व्वा स(सा)मान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेच्य जलबुद्बु(द्बु)दच-
(चं)चलं च जीवितमैश्वर्य-[6]

58 कलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्म[द्दाय:] पालयितव्य: [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतो व्याच्छि-
द्याद(दा)च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे-

59 त स [7]पञ्चभि महपतकैस्सापपातके[र्यु]क्त स्यादित्येक्तं[8] भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [॥*]
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि

60 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद(द:) [।*] [आच्छेत्ता चा]नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [॥ 26*[विध्या(न्ध्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क-

61 कोटरवासिन: [।*] कृष्णाहय[9] [हि] जायन्ते भूमिदाय(यं) हरन्ति ये [॥ 27]
ब[हुभि]र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भि:)

62 सगर(रा)दिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [तदा] फलं [॥ 28*]
य(स्वा)नीह दत्त(त्ता)नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द(र्दा)नानि धर्मर्त्थय-[10]

63 ग्रस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि [ता]नि को नाम स(सा)धु: पुनरा-
ददीत [॥ 29*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यत्नाद्र-

64 च्च नराधिप [।*] मही(हीं) महीमता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं[11] [॥ 30*]
इति कमदलापुयिन्दुलोला[12]

65 ग्र(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीन न हि
पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो वि-

66 लोप्या(प्या:) [॥ 31*] इति धारावर्ष-श्रीपृथुवीवल्लभ[14]-महाद(दे)वी-समादिष्ट-सोम-
याजि-ग्रंखय्य दूतकं[15]

67 लिखितं व(च) परमेश्वयोज्ञया[16] खड्गसेनसूनु[ना] महसच्चिविग्रहाधिकृतेन[17]
गुण-

68 भरापरनाम्ना वसुदेवेनेति ओं [॥*]

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[1] Read °मावास्यायां.
[2] Read अयीदकातिसर्गेण.
[3] Read महायज्ञो°.
[4] Read प्रवर्त्तितव्यं.
[5] Read तथागा°.
[6] Read °श्वैर्यं चा°.
[7] Read पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैर्युक्त:.
[8] Read °त्युक्तं.
[9] Read कृष्णाहयो.
[10] Read धर्मार्थ°.
[11] Read दानाच्छ्रे°.
[12] Read कामलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलीलां.
[13] Read °रात्मनीनैनं.
[14] Read पृथ्वी.
[15] Read ग्रंखय्यो दूतको.
[16] Read परमेश्वर्या°.
[17] Read महासन्धि°.

No. 18.—KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on a hero stone fixed near the river Pālār at **Kuḷidikki** in the Guḍiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot district. The stone is in a good state of preservation and the letters are engraved in archaic **Tamiḻ**.

The **language** of the record is Tamiḻ prose and it is particularly free from orthographical peculiarities.

A few words used in the inscription have a special significance. The word *tiri* (ll. 8, 9) ordinarily means 'to wander'; but here it is used in the sense of 'to proceed'. The word *Pallavaraiyaṉ* (l. 5) is here used to denote the Pallava king.[2]

The epigraph is **dated** in the **52nd year** of Vijaya-**Nandīś varavarman** and it records the death of **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, the chief of **Kaṟkāṭṭūr**, who, at the instance of *māmaḍi* the Bāṇa king, fell on the day when the **Pallava** army marched against **Perumāṉaḍigaḷ**[3] and destroyed (the fortress of) **Peṉkuḷikkōṭṭai.**

At the outset it may be pointed out that, from the high regnal year[4] quoted in the record the king may be identified with **Nandivarman Pallavamalla.** The record may, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the 8th century A.D.[5]

The present inscription is important because it mentions a direct attack of the Pallava king Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) on the Western Gaṅgas (Permāṉaḍi). The reason for the attack is not stated, but it is clear that the raid must have been undertaken to check the

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[1] No. 154 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] In No. 35 of 1922 this word is similarly used. Compare also the word 'Iḷattaraiyaṉ' to denote the king of Ceylon (*S. I.* I., III, p. 232).

[3] The term 'Perumāṉaḍigaḷ' is an honorific title generally applied to the Divine Being and in inscriptions it is also used to denote kings. According to a Gaṅga record (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35) the Pallavas had this title, but we find very few instances of its application to them, as for instance in No. 17 of 1899. It may probably be explained by the boast of the Western Gaṅga King Śrīpurusha who claims to have snatched this title from 'the king of Kāñchi'. From the time of Śrīpurusha, it invariably denoted the Gaṅga rulers.

In the present record, this term is dubiously used. It might be interpreted as referring to Nandivarman himself, in which case, "Pallavaraiyaṉ" (l. 5) would be some local chieftain who revolted against his overlord, when both Vāṇaraiyar and Gaṅgadiyaraiyar rushed to the rescue of the Pallava sovereign. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Guḍiyāttam taluk, where this inscription is found, to the Gaṅga territory and the political situations of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to Śrīpurusha.

[4] There are only a few stone records of Pallavamalla which, from high regnal years, can be definitely attributed to him, *viz.*—

(*a*) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 125, dated in the 47th year from Viriñchipuram,
(*b*) No. 10 of 1895, dated in the 50th year from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai,
(*c*) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 108, dated in the 52nd year from Śaduppēri,
(*d*) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 42, dated in the 62nd year from Tiruvallam,
(*e*) No. 666 of 1922, dated in the 65th year from Mahābalipuram and
(*f*) No. 14 of 1893, dated in the *8th year from Conjeeveram.

Some of the inscriptions of Nandivarman without the distinguishing titles 'Pallavamalla' and 'Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda' and with regnal years below 22 must remain unidentified, as they cannot be easily assigned to either the 2nd or 3rd king of that name.

[5] Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has fixed the initial date of Pallavamalla at 696 A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.); recently an attempt has been made to bring it down to 726 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.).

growing power of the Gaṅgas. Incidentally the record also mentions the relationship that existed among the three powers, *viz.*, the Pallavas, Western Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who came into conflict with one another too frequently in the 8th century A.D.

For a clear understanding of the record, the position of these powers during this period must be understood.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla accepted the Pallava monarchy when quite young at a time when the Pallava dominion was threatened with destruction. He had to contend against Chitramāya, another aspirant to the Pallava throne. The Western Chāḷukyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas took this opportunity and, under Vikramāditya II, they even succeeded in capturing Kāñchi and driving Pallavamalla to the south, where again at Nandipura near Kumbhakōṇam, the latter was besieged by a confederacy of Southern powers, from which his general Udayachandra saved him. Pallavamalla soon retrieved his position and established his power in the south also as is evidenced by his copper-plate records, nearly all of which come from the Tanjore district.[1] He was attacked on all sides which necessitated his general Udayachandra to 'bestow the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava' monarch.[2] The whole of his reign was crowded with military exploits as he came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers, *viz.*, the Pāṇḍyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Eastern and Western Chāḷukyas and the Gaṅgas. Here we are directly concerned with his relationship with the Gaṅgas.

Regarding the Pallava-Gaṅga relationship, it may be pointed out that the Pallavas claimed overlordship over the Gaṅgas by claiming to crown the Gaṅga kings. The Western Gaṅga kings Harivarman and Siṁhavarman or Mādhava III were crowned[3] by the Pallava monarchs Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman.[4] When the Gaṅgas were subdued by the Western Chāḷukyas,[5] the former must have come into conflict with the Pallavas along with the Chāḷukyas, their overlords. Bhūvikrama, the elder brother of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra I., claims to have defeated the Pallava king in the battle of Vilanda and also to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions.[6] Probably as a result of this battle, Śivamāra I. claims to have kept in his charge two Pallava princes.[7] When the Western Chāḷukyas were overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas under Śrīpurusha tried to assert their power, but soon the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pallavas vindicated their claim for overlordship by claiming to crown Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.[8]

The contemporary of Pallavamalla on the Gaṅga throne at the time of our record was Śrīpurusha (725-788 A.D.) in whose time the Gaṅgas tried to expand their dominions. He seems to have extended his conquests[9] as far as Kuḷidikki where the present inscription is found.

[1] Kāśākuḍi, Taṇḍantōṭṭam, Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam or Koṟṟaṅguḍi plates ; the Udaiyēndiram plates alone do not belong to the Tanjore district.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

[3] This is said to have been performed in due form, *i.e.*, according to customary rights (*yathārham*) (above, Vol. XIV, p. 333).

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 332.

[5] A record of Vinayāditya, dated in 694 A. D., speaks of the Gaṅgas as the hereditary servants of the Western Chāḷukyas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 303).

[6] Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 37.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60. Though this is a spurious record, the late Dr. Fleet did not find any impossibility in the truth of the statement that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III crowned Śivamāra II.

[9] His inscriptions are also found at Oḍḍanpaṭṭi in the Salem district (Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

In fact a record from Humcha[1] states that Śrīpurusha slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi[2] of Kāñchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title '*Permānaḍi*' which was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Gaṅgas.[3] Pallavamalla, however, did not keep quiet. The present inscription records one invasion against the Gaṅga king. In the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates, dated six years later, *i.e.*, in his 58th year, Pallavamalla claims to have taken from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrōdaya*.[4] Śrīpurusha, therefore, seems to have given trouble to Pallavamalla till late in the latter's reign.

The Bāṇa country, known as Perumbāṇappāḍi, lay to the west of the Āndhra country between the Pallava and the Gaṅga kingdoms. In the beginning, the Bāṇas offered opposition to Pallava expansion, but in the Pallava-Gaṅga fights, they had to join one side or the other. They first became the subordinates of the Gaṅgas. Diṇḍigarar, a Bāṇa king ruling over Kaḷbappunāḍu, was a subordinate of Śrīpurusha.[5] A stone inscription[6] of the time of the Gaṅga prince Mādhava Muttarasa at Tallapaḷḷa refers to his expedition against Māvali-Vāṇarasa and to the battle of Kōyāttūr, *i.e.*, Laḍḍigam in the Chittoor district. Though forced by circumstances to join the Gaṅgas at times, the Bāṇas generally threw in their lot with the Pallavas. At the time of our record we see that the Bāṇa king sided the Gaṅga[7] in checking the Pallava aggression. In this attack the Pallava king must have felt the necessity for creating a buffer state of the Bāṇa territory, for we find within the next few years the Bāṇa chiefs figuring as subordinates of the Pallavas and acting as the guardians of the frontier territory of their overlords.[8] In our inscription the Bāṇa contemporary of Pallavamalla is merely called by the general title Vāṇaraiyar without giving his actual name. It is evident that he cannot be Vikramāditya I., the son-in-law of Pṛithivīpati I.,[9] as he figures in the 17th year of Nandivarman III.[10] We may identify him with Nandivarman, the historical founder of the Bāṇa kingdom.[11] Our record gives us to understand that this Vāṇaraiyar did not take an active part in checking the Pallava attack on Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, though it indicates his support of the Gaṅga cause. It will be seen from the present inscription that he stood in the relation of a

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35. Though this record is about three centuries later than the time of Śrīpurusha and also contains some wrong statements, the adoption of the title 'Permāḍi' (*i.e., Perumānaḍigaḷ*) by the Western Gaṅga rulers is borne out by their records; but the other statements made in it cannot be accepted as correct unless we get reliable evidence in support of them.

[2] It has been suggested that Paramēśvaravarman II was the Pallava king slain on the battlefield at Viḷarde. Though probable, we do not know much about this ruler to affirm it.

[3] The Gaṅga chiefs seem to have adopted not only the title *Permānaḍi* but also other titles of the Pallavas as well. Vijaya-Narasiṁhavikramavarman and Vijaya-Iśvaravarman whose inscriptions are found at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kolar district, Kiḷmuṭṭugūr and Vēḷur in the North Arcot district and Hanumantapuram in the Salem district and who have been taken as Pallavas or rather Gaṅga-Pallavas hitherto, must really be Gaṅga chiefs adopting Pallava titles. These chiefs do not call themselves Pallavas and their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters which we do not find in Pallava records. From the elephant and *haṁsa* figures (above, Vol. IV, p. 177), carved in relief on one of the slabs containing an inscription of Narasiṁhavikramavarman, Dr. Hultzsch also concluded that Narasiṁhavarman was probably a Western Gaṅga chief (*ibid.*).

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 517, verse 6.

[5] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1927, p. 109.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 13. This inscription is assigned by Rice approximately to A.D. 725.

[7] In the battle of Soremaṭi also the Bāṇa chief sided the Gaṅga ruler (No. 543 of 1906).

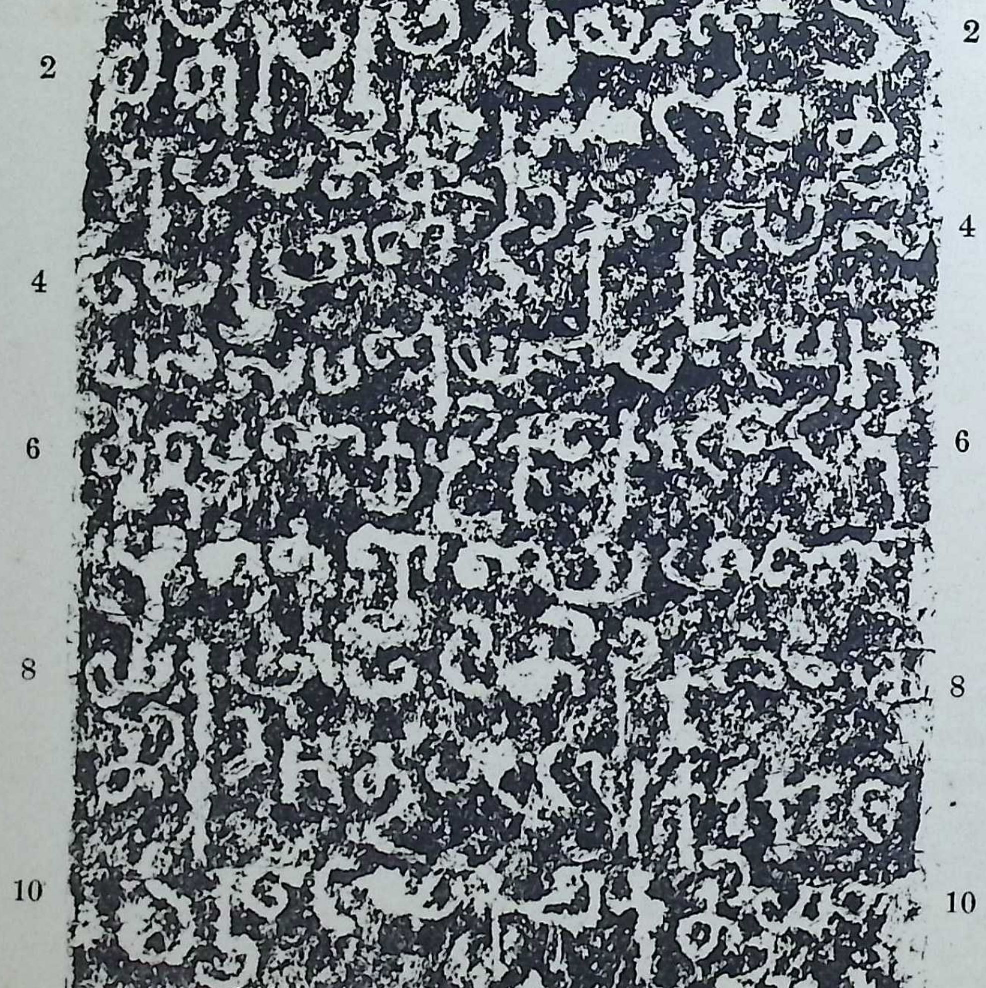
[8] The Bāṇas figure as subordinates of Pallavamalla, Danti, Nandi III and Nṛipatuṅga (above, Vol. XI, p. 235)

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 47 and 48.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[11] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. This Bāṇa chief must evidently have been so called after the name of his Pallava overlord Nandivarman (II).

KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.



N. P. Chakravarti.
REG. No. 3365 E'34-445.

SCALE: ONE SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

maternal uncle[1] to the Gaṅga chief at Kaṛkāṭṭūr. After the storming of Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai, the Bāṇas must have been subdued completely by the Pallavas, as we find a Mahāvali Vāṇaraiyar figuring as a subordinate in the 62nd year of Pallavamalla.[2] Subsequently, we find the Bāṇa chief ruling the Gaṅga six-thousand province[3] also, which must evidently have been possible only with Pallava support. It will thus be seen that by storming the fortress of Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai, Pallavamalla was able to check the growing power of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha and also to subdue the Bāṇas who from this time onwards accepted the overlordship of Pallavamalla and his successors.

The question why the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary the Pallava king Nandivarman is easily answered. After the siege, the village Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai belonged to Nandivarman and inscriptions of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of its overlord.

From the fact that the Gaṅga chief of Kaṛkāṭṭūr is called *Kaṉṉāḍu* Peruṅgaṅgar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on battle field.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** may be identified with **Kaḷakattūr** near Palamanēr in the Chittoor district. This Kaḷakattūr was in Puli-nāḍu which was under the Bāṇas, but was subsequently conquered by the Noḷamba king under orders of the Gaṅga ruler.[4] **Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai** may be identified with **Kuḻidikki** itself where the present inscription is found.

TEXT.

1 Śrī [||]kō-Viśeya-Nandī-
2 chchuraparumaṟku yāṇḍu
3 ambattiraṇḍāvadu
4 Perumāṉaḍigaḷ mēl
5 Pallavaraiyaṉ paḍai van-
6 du **Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai**, a-
7 ḻitta ñāṉṟu **Vāṇarai-**
8 **yar** māmaḍi tiriga enat-
9 tirindu paṭṭār **Kaṛkāṭ-**
10 **ṭūr-uḍaiya Gaṅgadiyarai-**
11 **yar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅga-**
12 **ṅgar** [||]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity ! In the **fifty-second** year of (*the reign of*) king **Viśeya-Nandīchchuraparumar, Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṉṉāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, (*the chief*) of **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** died, (*when*) **Vāṇaraiyar**, (*his*) uncle (*directed him*) to proceed on the day (*when*) the Pallava (?) army marched against **Perumāṉaḍigaḷ** and destroyed (*the fortress of*) **Peṇkuḻikkōṭṭai.**

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[1] One would look for the term *māmaḍi* to precede the proper name Vāṇaraiyar as in *Allun* Tikka, *Māmaḍi* Sōmeśvara, *Aḷiya* Rāmarāya etc. This word is so used in the present inscription that it might also mean that Vāṇaraiyar was the uncle of Perumāṉaḍigaḷ, *i.e.*, Śrīpurusha himself.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. VI.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, pp. 90-91.

No. 19.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III: VALABHI SAMVAT 357[1].

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is incised were discovered in 1915 in the village of Jesar, in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were lent in 1916 to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, and a preliminary account of this inscription, along with that of another grant of Śīlāditya III discovered in the same village,[2] were published by that scholar.[3]

The record is incised on the inner side of **two thick plates** of copper measuring 1′ 2¼″ by 1′ which are held together by a long ring of copper to which is attached an oval **seal**, of the same metal, with the **legend**, usually to be found on seals of grants of the Valabhī dynasty of Kāthiāwār, **Śrī-Bhaṭakka**. There is a bull *couchant* in the upper part of the area of the seal separated from the legend by two lines. Another round hole is to be seen in each of the plates for another ring, which however is missing. There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing of which the first twenty-nine are to be found on the first plate and the remaining thirty-three on the second plate. The whole of the record, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, is in prose. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, abounding with high flown phrases copied from earlier grants. Mistakes of the mason are common. Consonants with the superscript *r* are usually doubled. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya* are used very often in ligatures with the following consonants *p* and *k* respectively.

The **alphabet** of the inscription shows clear signs of southern influence, *cf.* the form of *la* in *ratn-ālaṁkāra* (l. 32). The base line of *ha* is suppressed. The place of the *anusvāra* is very often taken by *n* in ligatures, *cf. ansa* (l. 10) and *vidhvansita* (l. 19). Noteworthy also is the vowel *ē* in *ēva* (ll. 25 and 44).

The first fortyfive lines of the record are devoted to the genealogy. As usual in grants issued by the later princes of the **Valabhī** dynasty, the names of the sons of **Bhaṭārka** are omitted and the first prince to be mentioned, after the founder of the house, is **Guhasēna,** the son of **Dharapaṭṭa,** who was the fourth son of Bhaṭārka. Then in the order of succession comes his son **Dharasēna II,** his son **Śīlāditya I,** surnamed **Dharmmāditya,** his younger brother **Kharagraha I,** and his son **Dharasēna III.** The latter was followed on the throne by his younger brother **Dhruvasēna II,** surnamed **Bālāditya** and he was succeeded by his son **Dharasēna IV.** After this prince the succession devolved upon **Dhruvasēna III,** the son of **Ḍērabhaṭa,** who was the son of Śīlāditya I. Dhruvasēna III, was succeeded by his elder brother **Kharagraha II,** who again was followed on the throne by his elder brother **Śīlāditya II's** son **Śīlāditya (III),** the donor of the present grant. [The late Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date of this inscription as Saṁ 300 80 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 10. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also read the date as Saṁ 387 dvi-Pausha-ba 4.[4] Both these scholars, apparently depending on their reading of the date, attributed this inscription to Śīlāditya IV, the son and successor of Śīlāditya III. The genealogical portion of the inscription, however, stops with Śīlāditya III, but Banerji held the opinion that the portion introducing Śīlāditya IV, which is found in his own grants or those of his successors 'was omitted in this inscription'. I, however, read the date as Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 4 and would attribute the inscription to Śīlāditya III. The second numerical figure in the year is exactly similar to the figure for 50 found in the Lunsaḍī plates of Śīlāditya III[5].

[1] [See my note in paragraph 4.—Ed.]
[2] Now edited above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.
[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10.
[4] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, and *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1308.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306 ff, and *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathywar, etc.*, pp. 45 ff. and Pls.

Moreover, the donee of the present grant is evidently identical with that of Jesar plates of Śīlāditya of Valabhī Samvat 347,[1] the difference being that he is here only mentioned as a *Dīkshita* and his two names Saggaḷa and Prakāśa found in the earlier Jesar plates have been omitted. It therefore appears that Śīlāditya III, made a second grant to the same person ten years after the first grant was issued.—Ed.]

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of: (1) a reservoir of water (*vāpī*) extending over twenty-five *pādāvarttas* of land from the royal domain land (*rājakīya*) in the Maḍasara-*sthalī* in the village of **Maḍasara** in **Surāshṭ[r*]**a to a Brāhmaṇa who was a **Dīkshita** and was the son of **Sāmbadatta** of the Vājasanēya-*śākhā* of the Yajurvēda and of the Kauśika-*gōtra* and who had emigrated from **Pushya-Sāmbapura.** The boundaries of this gift were as follows: to the east Pāṇḍava-Khaṇḍa, to the south the *prachīhā* known as the [Ka*]mpilikkā Khuṇḍaka (?) belonging to Datka (Datta), to the west the field known as Sīsagara and to the north the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Saṅgilaka; (2) one hundred and four *pādāvarttas* of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village). The first piece belonging to an extinct family measured sixteen *pādāvarttas*. The boundaries of this piece of land were: to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the south the family land (?) of Chachcha and Mātṛila, to the west the field called Maḍhavānaka and the Sagara (?) leading towards the village Kōraṭapadraka and to the north the field known as *Pattiyāṇaka-durga-kshēttra*. The second piece measuring thirty *pādāvarttas* also originally belonged to a family then extinct. Its boundaries were: to the east, the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the west the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Bhōṭuka, to the north also the field of the same Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka. The third piece measuring forty-three *pādāvarttas* was cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were: to the east the path going towards the village of Suptāvasadhī, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaka, to the west the fields known as *Pattiaṇaka* and *Mātṛisthāna*, to the north the boundary of the village of Suptāvasadhī. The fourth piece was also under the cultivation of Kikaka and measured ten *pādāvarttas*. Its boundaries were: to the east the public road, to the south the *grāmaśikhara*, to the west the *prachchīhā* of the nobleman (*kulaputraka*) Varuṇa, to the north the field belonging to Karkkaka. The fifth piece measuring five *pādāvarttas* was also cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were: to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Chamasa, to the south the *brahmadēya* field known as Dāsānaka, to the west the public road (*rājavaṭṭā*), to the north the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputtra*) **Kharagraha** and it was written by the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita Divirapati Mahāpratīhāra Sāmanta* **Mammaka.** The prince Kharagraha is mentioned in the Bhāvnagar plates of Śīlāditya III, of G. 356 and the Bhāvnagar plates of Śīlāditya IV, of G. 372, the Devalī plates of G. 375 and the plates of G. 376. The date of the grant is the **4th day of the dark half of the second month of Pausha** in the **year 357** evidently of the Valabhī era and is equivalent to 675-76 A.D. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Mēghavana,** from which the Lunsaḍī plates of Śiladitya III, of the year 352 were also issued. I am unable to identify Maḍasara, Suptāvasadhī and other places mentioned in this record. I edit the inscription from the original plates which had been lent to me by the Bhāvnagar Durbar for this purpose.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm[2] Svasti[||*] Vijayaskandha(ndhā)va(vā)rā[t*] Mēghavana-bā(vā)śa(sa)kā[t*] prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛitaḥ[1]-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥParama-māhēśvaraḥ[1]-śrī-**Bhaṭārkkād**=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vaṅśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhau-

3 t-a(ā)śēsha-kalmashaḥ śaisha(śa)vāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga[2]-dvitīya-pā(bā)hur=ēva samada-para gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat-prabhāva-praṇat - ārāti - chūḍā - ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-

4 saṁhati[ḥ*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyat(k)-paripālana-prajā - hṛidaya-rañjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-ga(gā)mbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhi[ḥ*] Smara-śaśāṅk-ādṛi(dri)rāj-ōdadhi-t[ri*]daśaguru-Dhanē-

5 śān-atiśayānaḥ śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad=apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-phala[ḥ*] prārtthan-ādhik-ārttha-prajā(dā)n-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidaya[ḥ*] pādachār=īva

6 sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōda[ḥ*] Paramama(mā)hēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guhasēnas**= tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ

7 praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad=rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśrita[ḥ*] sarabhasam=ābhi-gāmikair=gguṇai[s*]=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddhara[ḥ*] pra-thama-narapati-

8 samatisṛishṭānām=anupālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām= upaplavānā[ṁ*] darśayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṁhat-ārāti-paksha-Lakshmī-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikramō[3]

9 vikram-[ō]pasa(saṁ)pra(prā)pta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ Paramama(mā)hēśvara[ḥ*] śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dig-mamāla[4] samara-śata-vi-

10 jaya-śobhā-sana(nā)tha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyūti-bhābhu(su)ratar-ān(ṁ)sa-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manō-ratha-mahābhāraḥ sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-dhi(vi)mala-matir=api sarvva-taḥ subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpa-

11 pa(pā)danīya-paritōsha[ḥ*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi su-charit-ātiśaya-suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāva[ḥ*] khilībhūta-kṛita-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-

12 kīrtti[ḥ*] dharmm-ānuparōdh-ōj(jj)valatarīkṛit-ārttha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-niru(rū)ḍha-**Dharmmāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlādityas**=tasy=ānujas= tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-gu-

13 ruṇ=ēva guruṇ=āty-ādaravatā samabhiliashaṇīyām=api rāja-lakshmīṁ skandha-sa-kt[āṁ*] parama-bhadra iva dhuryyas=tad-ājñā-sampādan-aika-raśat[5]=aiv=ōdvahan khēda-sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsi-

14 ta-sat(tt)va-sampatti[ḥ*] prabhāva-sampad-vaśīkṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagū-ḍha-pāda-pīth(ṭh)ō=pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-ras-ānāliṅgita-manōvṛittiḥ praṇatim= ēkā[ṁ*] parityajya prakhyāta-pauru-

15 sh-ābhimānair=apy=arātibhir=anāsādita-pratikṛi(kri)y-ōpāya[ḥ*] kṛita-nikhila-bhuvan-āmōda-vimala-guṇa-saṁhati-prasabha-vighaṭita-sakala-kali-vilassi(si)ta-gati[ḥ*] nīcha-jan-ādhirōhibhir=aśē-

[1] The *visarga* is superfluous.

[2] Two dashes to the right of *ga* are superfluous.

[3] Superfluous.

[4] Read *diṅ-maṇḍalaḥ*.

[5] Read *rasatay=*.

16 shair=ddōśair[1]=anāmṛishṭ-ātyunnata-hṛidaya[ḥ*] prakhyāta-paurush-āstra-kauśal-ātiśayaḥ(ya)-gaṇa-titha-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmī-svayaṁgrāha-prakāśita-vīra-purushaḥ(sha)-prathama-saṁkhy-ādhigamaḥ Paramamāhēśvara[ḥ]

17 śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasya tanayas tat-pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-vidy-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvaj-jana-manaḥ-paritōś(sh)-ātiśaya[ḥ*] sat(tt)va-sapā(saṁpa)dā tyāg-audāryyēṇa va(cha) vigat-ānusandha(dhā)n-āsamāhit-ārāti-

18 paksha-manōrath-āksha-bhaṅga[ḥ*] samyag=upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kaushalāka-[2]-charita-gahvara-vibhāgō=pi paramabhadra-prakṛitṛi(ti)r=akṛitṛi(tri)ma-praśraya-vinaya-gō(śō)bhā-vibhūshaṇa[ḥ] samata(ra)-śata-jaya-patākā-

19 haraṇa-pratyal-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvan(ṁ)sita -nikhilaḥ(la) - pratipaksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ sva-dhanuḥ-prabhāva-paribhūt-āstra-kauśal-ābhimāna-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-śāsana[ḥ*] Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-

20 **Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pāda(d-ā)nudhyātaḥ sach-charit-ātiśayita-sakala-pūrvva-narapatir=ati-ddu(du)ssādhānām=api prasādhayit[ā] vishayāṇāṁ mūrttimān=iva purushakāraḥ parivṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirdbharaḥ[3]-

21 chitta-vṛitta(tti)bhir=mManur=iva svayam=abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir=adhigata-kalā-kalāpaḥ kāntimā[n*]=nirvṛiti-hētur=akalaṅkaḥ kumuda-nātha[ḥ*] prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-antā(ta)rāla-pradhvan(ṁ)sita-dhvānta-rānsi(śiḥ) satat-ō -

22 t-ō[4]dita-savitā prakṛitibhya[ḥ*] para[ṁ*] pratyayam=artthavantam=ati-bahu-titha-prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇṇa[ṁ*] vidadhānas=sandhi-vigraha-samāsa-niśchaya-nipuṇaḥ sthānē=nuru(rū)pam=ādēśan=dada[d*]=guṇa-

23 vṛiddhi-vidhāna-janita-saṁskāra[ḥ*] sābhūṇaṁ[5] rājja(jya)-Śālāturīyas(ya)-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api nishṇātaḥ prakṛishṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvv[i*]taḥ kāntō=pi prasa(śa)mī sthira-sauhṛi[dayy]ō-pi ni-

24 rasitā dōshavatām=udaya-samaya-samupajanita-janat-ānurāga-parivi(pi)hita-bhuvana-samartth[i*]ta-prathita-**Bālāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-kamala-pra-

25 ṇāma-dharaṇi-kashaṇa-janita-kiṇa-lāñchhana-lalāṭa-chandra-sa(śa)kala[ḥ*] śiśu-bhāva ēva śravaṇa-nihita-mauktik-ālaṅkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viśesa[6] pradāna-salila-kshālit-āgra-hast-āravindaḥ kā(ka)nyāyā i-

26 va mṛidu-kara-grahaṇād=amandīkṛit-ānanda-vidhir=vvasundharāyāḥ kārmma(rmmu)kē dhanurvvēda iva saṁmbhā(bhā)vit-āśēsha-lakshya-kalāpaḥ praṇata-sāmanta-maṇḍal-ōttam-[ā*]ṅga-dhṛita-chchūḍā-ratnāyā(ya)māna-sā(śā)sanaḥ Paramamāhēśvara.

27 Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Chakravarttiḥ(rtti)-śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tat-pitāmaha-bhrātṛi-śrī-**Śīlādityasya** Śārṅgapāṇēr=iv=āṅga-janmanō bhakti-bandhur-[ā*]vayava-kalpita-praṇatēr=ati-dhavalayā dūraṁ tat-pā-

28 d-āravinda-pravṛittayā nakha-maṇi-ruchā Mandākiny=ēva nityam=amalit-ōttamāṅga-dēśasy=Āgastyasy=aiva rājarshēr=ddākshiṇyam=ātanvānasya prabala-dhavalimnā yaśasāṁ va-

29 layēna maṇḍita-kakubhā nabhasi yāminīpatēr=vviḍambit-ākhaṇḍa-parivēśa-maṇḍalasya payōda-śyāma-śikhara-chūchuka-ruchira-Sahya-Vindhya-stana-yugāyāḥ

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[1] Read *dōshair=*

[2] Read *kalā-lōka-*

[3] Read *nirbbhara-*

[4] The second *tō* is superfluous.

[5] Read *sādhūnāṁ.*

[6] Read *viśēshaḥ.*

Second Plate.

30 kshitēḥ patyuḥ śrī-**Ḍērabhaṭasy**=āṅśa(ṅga)jaḥ kshitipa-saṁhatēr=anurāgiṇyāḥ śuchi-yaś-ōṅśuka-bhṛita[ḥ*] svaya[ṁ*]vara-mālām=iva rājya-śriyam=arppayantyāḥ kṛita-parigrahaḥ sau(śau)ryya-

31 m=apratihata-vyāpāram=ānamita-prachaṇḍa-ripu-maṇḍalaṁ maṇḍal-āgram=iv=āvalambamānaḥ śaradi prasabham=ākṛishṭa-śilīmukha-bāṇāsan-āpādita-prasā-

32 dhanānāṁ para-bhuvā[ṁ*] vidhi-vad=ācharita-kara-grahaṇaḥ pūrvvam=ēva vividha-varṇṇ-ōj(jj)valēna śrut-ātiśayēn=ōdbhāshita-śravaṇaḥ punaḥ punar=uktēn=ēva ratn-āla-

33 ṅkārēṇ=ālaṅkṛita-śrōtra[ḥ] pariSphurat-kaṭaka-vikaṭa-kīṭapaksha-ratna-kiraṇam=avichchhinna-pradāna-salila-nivah-āvasēka-vilasan=nava-śaival-āṅkuram=iv=āgra-pāṇi-

34 m=udvahan=udhṛita[1]-viśāla-ratna-valaya-jaladhi-vēlā-taṭāyamāna-bhuja - parisva(shva)kta-viśvambharaḥ Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** stasy=āgrajjō[2]=para-mahīpati-sparśa-

35 dōsha-nāśana-dhiy=ēva lakshmyā svayam=atispashṭa-chēshṭam=āślishṭ-āṅga-yashṭir=ati-ruchiratara-charita - garima - parikalita - sakala-narapatir=atiprakṛishṭ-ānurāga-rasa-rabhasa-va-

36 śīkṛita-praṇata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chchū(chū)ḍāmaṇi - mayūkha - khachita - charaṇa-kamala-yugalaḥ prōddām-ōdāra-dōrddaṇḍ-dalita-dvishad-vargga-darppa[ḥ] prasarppat-paṭīya[ḥ*]-

37 pratāpa-plōshit-āśēsha-śatru-vaṅśa[ḥ*] praṇayi-paksha-nikshipta-lakshmīkaḥ prērita-gad-ōtkshipta-śu(su)darśana-chakraḥ parihṛita-bāla-krīḍō=nadhaḥkṛita-dvijātir=ēka-vikrama-prasā-

38 dhita-dharitrī-talō=naṅgīkṛita-jala-śayyō=pūrvva-purush-ōttamaḥ sākshā[d*]-dharmma iva samyag-vyavasthāpitā(ta)-varṇṇ-āśram-āchāraḥ pūrvvair=apy=urvvīpatibhis=tṛishṇā-lava-lubdhai-

39 r=yyāny=apahṛitāni dēva-ba(bra)hma-dēyāna(ni) tēshām=apy=ati-sarala-manaḥ-prasaram=utsaṅkalan-ānumōdanābhyāṁ parimudita-tṛi(tri)bhuvan-ābhinandit-ōchchhrit-ōtkṛishṭa-dhavala-dharmma-

40 dhvaja-prakāśita-nija-vaṅśō dēva-dvija-gurut(rūn)=prati yathārha-manaḥta[3]-pravarttita-mah-ōddraṅg-ādi-dāna-vyasan-ānupajāta-santōsh-ōpātt-ōdāra-kīrtti-panti(paṁkti)-paraṁ-

41 parā-danturita-nikhila-dik-chakravālaḥ spashṭam=ēva yath-ārttha[ṁ*] **Dharmmāditya**-āpara-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasy=āgrajanmanaḥ kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrī-vikāsi-

42 nyā kalāvataś=chandrikay=ēva kīrtyā dhavalita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya khaṇḍit-āguru-vilēpana-piṇḍa-śyāmala-Vindhya-śaila-vipula-payōdhar-ābhogāyā[ḥ*] kshōṇyāḥ patyuḥ

43 śrī-**Śīlādityasya** sūnur=nnava-pr[ā]lēya-kiraṇa . iva pratidita(na)-saṁvarddhamāna-kalā-chakravālaḥ kēsar-īndra-śiśur=iva rāja-lakshmīm=achala-vanasthalīm=iv=ālaṅkurvvāṇaḥ Śikhaṇḍi-kē-

44 tana iva ruchima[ch*]-chūḍā-maṇḍana[ḥ*] prachaṇḍa-śakti-prabhāvaś=cha śarad-āgamē-(ma) iva pratāpavān=ullasha(sa)t-padmaḥ saṁyugē vidalayan[n*]=ambhōdharān=iva para-gajān=udaya ēva tapana-bāl-āta-

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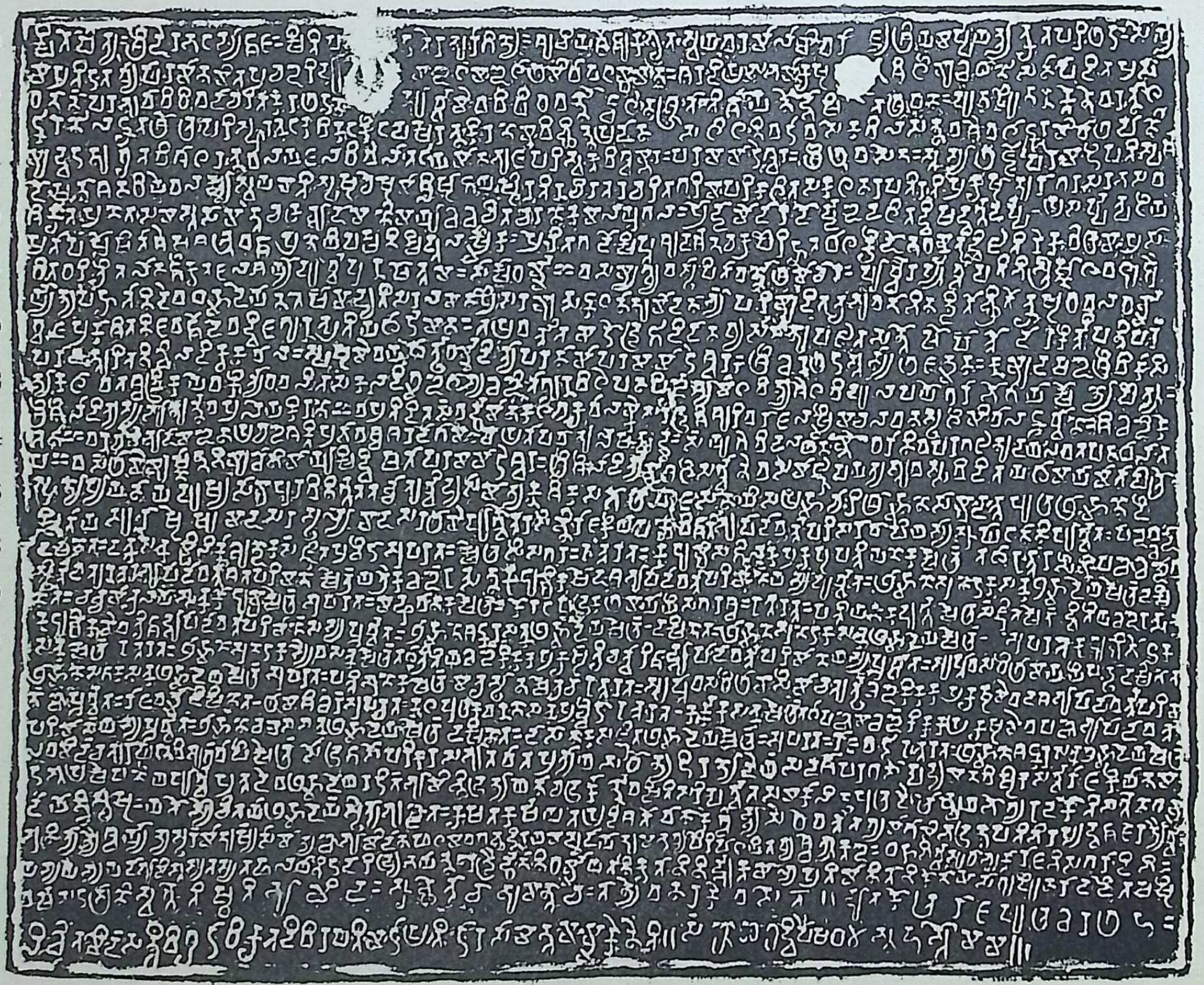
[1] Read *-udvahan-dhṛita.*

[2] Read *°sēnas=tasy=āgrajō=*

[3] Read *manās=tat.* Bhavnagar Plates read *yathārham=anavarata-*.

Jesar Plates of Siladitya III: Valabhi Samvat 357.

Second Plate.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3371 E'34 - 425.

Scale: One-half.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

45 pa iva sāṁgrāmē mushṇā(shṇa)nn=abhimukhānām=āyūkshi[1] dvishatā[ṁ*] Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlādityaḥ**[2] kuśalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=sa[ṁ*]vidita[ṁ*] yathā mayā mātā-pitrō[3]-

46 s=puṇy-āpyāyanāya Pushya-Sāmbapura-vinirggata-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Kuśika-sagōtra-Vājasanēyi-sapra(bra)hmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-brāhmaṇa **Dī-**

47 **kshitāya Surāshṭēshu**[4] **Maḍasara**-sthalyā Maḍasara-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-sīmni rājakīyāt=pañchaviṅśati-bhū-pādāvartta-parisarā vāpī yasyā āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ Pāṇḍava-khaṇḍa[ḥ*][5]

48 dakshiṇataḥ datka(tta ?)-satka-mpilikkā[6]khuṇḍaka -saṁjñita-prachīhā aparataḥ kshētra-Sīsagaraḥ uttarataḥ kuṭumbi-Saṅgilaka-prakṛipṭa(shṭa)-pattiyēṇaka-kshētraṁ tathā uttara-sīmni pañcha-khaṇḍ-āva-

49 sthitāṁ chatur-uttara-bhū-pādāvartta-śata-parimāṇa-kshētraṁ[||*] yatr=aika-khaṇḍaṁ utsanna-kuṭumbika-shōḍaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ dakshi-

50 ṇataḥ Chachcha-Mātṛilayōs=satka-kōṭumba-kshētraṁ aparataḥ Maḍhavānaka-kshētraṁ Kōraṭapadraka-grāmayāyī sāgaraś=cha|| uttarattaḥ(taḥ) pattiyāṇaka-durgga-kshētra-saṁjñita-kshētraṁ[||*] dvitīya-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] utsanna-

51 kuṭumbikam=ēva triṅśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ sa(ya)sya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ | dakshiṇataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ | aparata[ḥ*] kuṭumbi-Bhōṭuka-

52 satka-kshētraṁ uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahakasy=aiva satka-kshētraṁ[||*] tathā tri(tṛi)tīya-khaṇḍaṁ Kikaka-prakṛishṭaṁ tri-chatvāriṅśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇa[ṁ*] yasya pūrvvataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-yāyī panthā[ḥ*] dakshiṇataḥ

53 brāhmaṇa-Saṅgaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ aparataḥ pattiaṇaka-kshētraṁ M[ā*]tri-sthāna-kshētra[ṁ*] cha uttarataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-sīmā[||*] chaturttha-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] Kikaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva daśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimā-

54 ṇaṁñ(ṇañ)=cha pūrvvataḥ rājavartmā di(da)kshiṇata[ḥ] grāma-śikharaṁ aparataḥ kulaputraka-Varuṇa-satka-prachchīhā uttarata[ḥ] Karkkaka-satka-kshētraṁ[||*] tathā pañchama-khaṇḍaṁ Kikkaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva pañcha-bhū-pādāvartta-

55 parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Chamasa-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ dakshiṇataḥ Dāsānaka-saṁjñita-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ|| aparataḥ rāja-vaṭṭā(rtmā) uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ[||*]

56 Ēvam=idaṁ chatur-āghā[ṭana]-visu(śu)[d*]dhaṁ vāpī-kshētraṁ s-ōdraṅga[ṁ*] s-ōparikara[ṁ*] sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya[ṁ*] sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sa-daśāpar[ā*]-dha[ṁ*] s-ōtpadyam[ā*]na-vishṭika[ṁ*] sarvva-rājakīyān[ā*]m=a-

57 hasta-prakshēpaṇīya[ṁ*] pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahmadēya-rahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ācha[n*]dr-[ā*]rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakālīna[ḥ*] putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgya[ḥ*] udak-ātisarggēṇa dharmma-

58 dāyō nṛi(ni)sṛishṭaḥ[| *] yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahma-dēyaṁ(ya)-sthityā bhuñjataḥ kṛishata[ḥ*] karshayata[ḥ*] pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=a[sma*]d-vaṅśajair=anyair=vvā

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[1] Read *āyūṁshi.*

[2] The name of Śilāditya IV has been omitted. [See *ante*, p. 114 and note 1.—Ed.]

[3] Read *pitrōḥ puṇy-.*

[4] Read *Surāshṭrēshu.*

[5] *Kha* of *khaṇḍa* is written below the line and was added afterwards.

[6] Probably we have to read *Kampi°.*

59 anityāny=aiśvaryyāny(ṇy)=astha(sthi)raṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-[d*] āyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=ch=ēty=uktañ=cha|| Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ[| *]

60 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta[dā*] phala[ṁ*||] Yān=īha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanīkṛitāni[|*] nir[b]bhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta[||*] Shashṭi(shṭiṁ)

61 varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ[;*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā chaḥ(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-**Kharagrahaḥ**[||*]

62 Likhitam=idaṁ Sandhivigrahādhikṛita-Divirapati-Mahāpratihāra-Sāmanta-Mammakēn=ēti || Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha ba 4 [||*] Svahastō mama ||

No. 20.—THE BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA : V. S. 1012.

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

This inscription, which is being edited for the first time, was discovered by Carlleyle, one of the Assistants of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State.[1] This place (lat. 77° 21′ E., long. 26° 54′) is now a junction on the broad gauge main line of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. It was a place of great importance in mediæval times and for some time was made the Imperial capital by Islām Shāh son of Shēr Shāh I. When Mr. Carlleyle saw this inscription for the first time, it was lying under one of the stone pillars of the balcony which surrounds the courtyard of the Ukhā Mandir at Bayānā. This Mandir is a late structure built about a century ago by a Thākur of the Bharatpur State, by converting a portion of the Masjid built in 720 A. H. by Sulṭān Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh of the Khiljī dynasty of Delhi[2]. The inscription was found in the same position in 1885 by Fleet, and was referred to by him in his article on the Bayānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja dated V. S. 1100.[3] It continued there till I visited Bayānā in 1918, when at my request Mr. C. C. Watson, I.C.S., C.I.E., then Political Agent for the Eastern Rajputana States, asked the Bharatpur Durbar to have the slab removed and it has since been placed in the compound of the Ukhā Mandir. The inscription is incised on a thick slab of yellow sandstone, quite different from the red sandstone used in the construction of the Ukhā Masjid or the Ukhā Mandir and almost of all the ancient monuments at Bayānā. The upper left corner of the inscription is broken and the letters on one-eighth of the entire slab towards the right have flaked off. With the exception of these two parts the rest of the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The flaking off of the right side of the slab makes all the lines incomplete and therefore difficult to decipher. The breaking off of the upper left corner has made the beginning of the first five lines incomplete ; out of these lines again, the first three have lost more letters than the fourth and the fifth which have lost only ten and four syllables approximately.

The inscribed surface measures 3′ 6″ × 1′ 9″ and the average height of letters is 1½″. The slab bears twenty-five lines of writing which on the whole is very neatly done. As regards **palaeography,** in many cases, the *anusvāra* is enclosed within a circle (*cf.* *jagatāṁ* l. 4), while in other cases it is a plain dot (*cf.* *vaṁśasya* l. 4). A peculiar form of *tha* is noticeable in *lōkanāthaḥ* (l. 7) where the upper part of the upper loop is open, which is usually closed in other instances, as for example, in *prathitaḥ* (l. 18) or *prithu* (l. 22). The initial form of the short *i* is

[1] *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. XX, p. 72.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

to be found in *ity=ālōchya* (l. 20), *iva* (l. 21), *etc.* The usual form of the palatal *śa* used in this inscription is the transitional form in which the curve in the upper part of the letter touches but does not coalesce with the vertical straight line which forms the left limb as in *śṛiṁgāritāḥ* (l. 11). Very often this curve does not touch the straight line on the left as in *chārudarśanaḥ* (l. 16) or *Śrīpālēna* (l. 25). As regards the **orthographical** peculiarities it might be stated that consonants under a superscript *r* are usually doubled (*cf. śauryya*° *svarggē*, *sarvvēshu*, l. 3., *etc.*). Occasionally consonants with a subscript *r* are also doubled (*cf. ttrātā* in l. 8). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the whole inscription with the exception of a portion of the last line is written in verse.

After referring to the Moon, the lunar race, and Kṛishṇa the record speaks of the Śūrasōna kings, in which clan was born a king named **Phakka.** The name of a king Phakka has been found in an undated inscription of *circa* eighth century A.D. on a pillar built into the inner wall of the main gate of the Chaurāsi-Khamba Masjid at Kāmā or Kāmavana, in the Bharatpur State, which was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by the late Pandit Bhagavan lal Indraji.[1] The Kāmavana record provides us with a genealogy of the Śūrasēna kings for seven generations. According to the Bayānā inscription, in the family of Phakka there was a king named **Vappuka,** who is styled 'an Indra on the earth' (l. 9). His son was **Rājayika,** who married a lady named **Sajjanī** of the **Māyūrika** family. As mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription[2] dated V. S. 894 (=A.D. 837), the Pratīhāra chief Bāuka defeated a chief named Mayūra from whom Sajjanī appears to have been descended. Sajjanī, who was the grand-mother of **Chittralēkhā**, the donor of the present inscription, must have been living in the earlier part of the tenth century A.D., as the latter was a middle-aged matron in V. S. 1012, having four grown-up sons. The name of Rājayika's son is lost, but from l. 13 we learn that he married a lady named **Yaśaskarī** of the **Pramāra** family from whom was born Chittralēkhā (l. 14). Chittralēkhā was married to a chief named **Maṅgalarāja,** about whose descent no details are furnished. The person referred to in l. 16, whose name is lost, is probably the eldest son of Maṅgalarāja and Chittralēkhā. Fleet proposed to identify this Maṅgalarāja with the chief of that name of the Kachchhapaghāta family, who is mentioned as the ancestor of the king Mahīpāla in the Sāsbahū temple inscription in Gwalior Fort dated V. S. 1150 (=1093-94 A.D.).[3] If this identification be accepted then the eldest son of Chittralēkhā, who is mentioned in l. 16 of the Bayānā inscription, is probably **Kīrttirāja,** who succeeded his father. Three other sons of Chittralēkhā are mentioned in this record. The second was named **Indrajit** (l. 18), the third **Lakshmaṇarāja** and the fourth **Chāmuṇḍarāja** (l. 19). The **object** of the inscription is mentioned in l. 20 whence we learn that Chittralēkhā caused to be built a temple of Vishṇu and gave two villages named Gōgrapura and Nāgapallī as well as certain fields in Hāḍhapallī to the deity (*Chakrin*). From l. 23 we learn that three *drammas* were to be collected for the god (*Śārṅgin*) in the *maṇḍapikā* of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusāvaṭa. From the same line we also learn that a gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart for the god, probably whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as *octroi* duty on every horse-load of merchandise carried through the village precincts.

Almost all the **geographical** names mentioned in the record can be identified. **Śrīpathā** has been identified as Bayānā itself by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet.[4] Though phonetically the ancient and modern names cannot be connected, there is some support for this identification as the same

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 34-35.
[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 95 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 10.

name has been found in another ancient stone inscription discovered at Bayānā, *viz.*, the Bayānā Jain inscription of Vijayādhirāja of V. S. 1100 (=1044 A.D.). **Vusāvaṭa** is the modern market town of Bhoosawar in the Bharatpur State. **Nāgapallī** is modern Nawali and **Gōgrapura,** Gogera, both situated in the same State (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 for Nawali and Cunningham's map in his Reports for Bhoosawar).[1] **Hāḍhapallī** is now situated in the adjoining State of Jaipur and is included in the district of Hindaun[2] (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 S. E.).[3] Gogera and Bhoosawar are situated in Tahsil Wair and Nawali is in the Bayānā Tahsil.

We also learn from the twenty-third line that Chittralēkhā was a queen (*rājñī*) and that her territories were included in the Empire of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī*–**Mahīpāla.** No chief of this name, mentioned in Kielhorn's list of Northern Inscriptions, could have been reigning in 955 A.D. We find that in V. S. 1003 the suzerainty of the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla II was acknowledged in Partabgarh[4] in the southern part of the Mewār State. Again in V. S. 1016, the sway of Vijayapāla, also of Kanauj, is acknowledged at Rājaur in the northern part of the Alwar State.[5] The date of the Bayānā inscription, V. S. 1012, falls between these two dates. The probability then is in favour of the fact that this *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāla, whose suzerainty was acknowledged in Bayānā in 955 A.D., was a second prince of that name of the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, who had come to the throne after Dēvapāladēva, mentioned in the Sīyaḍōnī record of V. S. 1005[6] and was succeeded shortly afterwards by Vijayapāladēva, mentioned in the Rājaur inscription of Mathanadēva. The date of the record is given in words in l. 24, as the **Vikrama year 1012, Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha** which regularly corresponds to the 8th January, A.D. 955. The composer of the *praśasti* was a Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana.** It was written by **Śrīśakti** and incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla.** After the end of the record there is a supplementary verse mentioning the gift of a village named **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse (*ravigraha*) by a person named **Indrajit,** who may be identical with the son of Chittralēkhā mentioned in l. 18. The name of the donee is not legible. Probably this gift was also made to the same temple. I edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3, 8, 12, 17, 28, 29, 31 and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 6, 21, 25 and 43 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4, 5 (?), 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 27, 42 and 45 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 7, 9, 10, 16 and 18 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 14, 24, 30, 32, 33, 35-40 and 44 *Āryā* ; v. 23 *Upajāti* ; v. 26 *Indravajrā* ; v. 41 *Gīti*.]

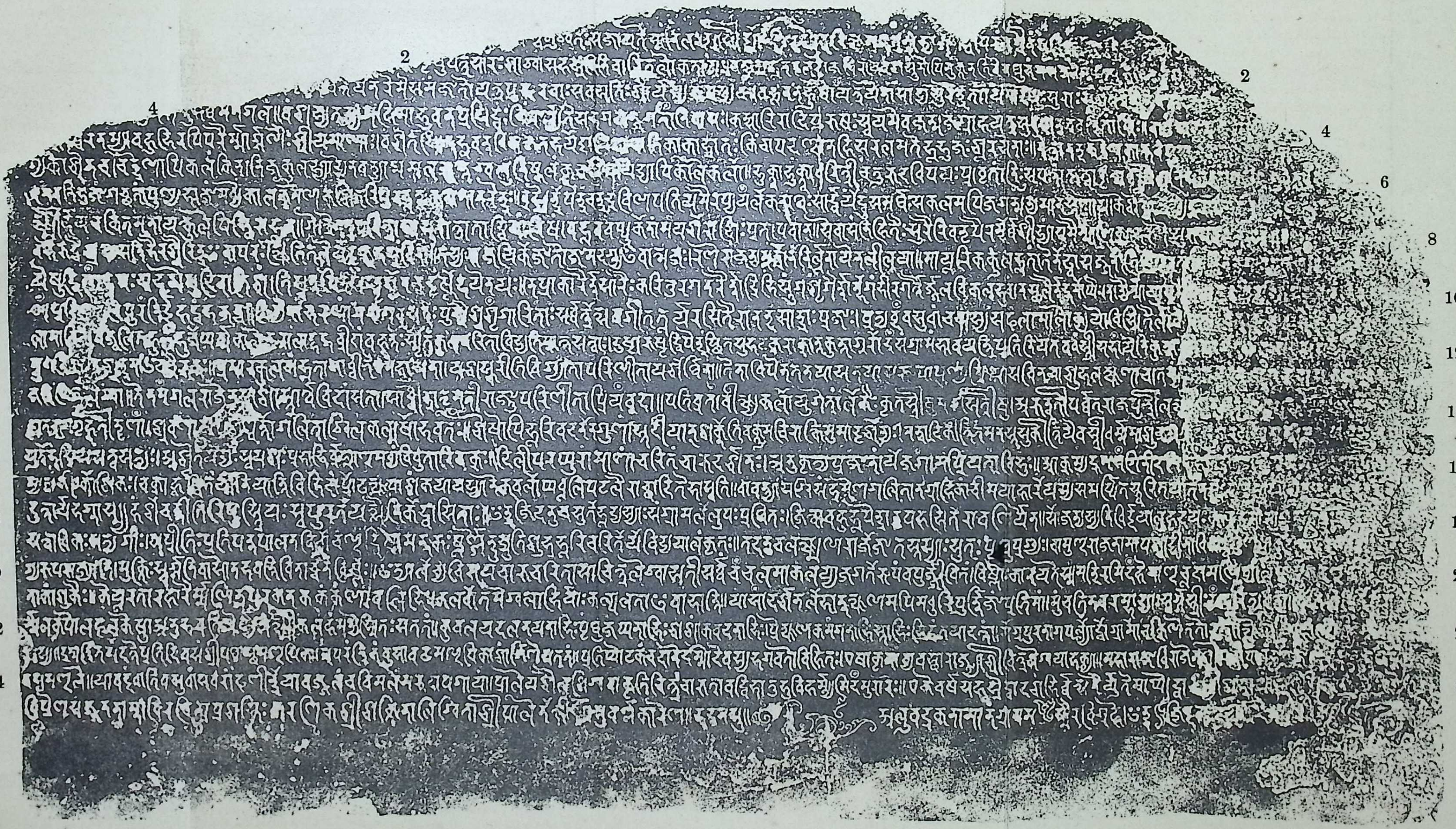
1 .....[*||] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — cha mukhataḥ saṁjāyatē sm=ānalaḥ | āsīd= dyauḥ śirasō [dhuri kshaya◡— — bhyā◡ — [ch=āparaṁ] yaś=ch=ainaṁ pari — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — —◡—[|| 1 ||*]

2 — —◡—◡◡◡—[pṛithu]-pattra-sāraḥ śākhā-sahasra-vinivārita-lōka-tāpaḥ | chandrāt=prabhūta-phaladō=jani rāja-vaṁśas=tuṁgō=pi mukta-vēpathu-bhaṁga-saṅgaḥ || [2 || *] — — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— — —◡— —◡ — — — — ◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— —

3 —◡— —◡—[|*]— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡ [chittar=]yēna rēmē samaṁ jātō yattra Purūravāḥ sa-vasatiḥ śauryyasya rūpasya cha || [3 || *] Va(Ba)bhūva Nahushō yattra yēn=āsādya sur-ēndratāṁ | Yam-ādayaḥ surāḥ svarggē sarvvē....◡—◡.. [|| 4 ||*]....................

[1] *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pl. 1.
[2] I am indebted for this information to the Resident at Jaipur.
[3] Printed by the Survey of India in 1917.
[4] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 182-88.
[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 266.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p. 177.

BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA: V. S. 1012.



N. P. Chakravarti.
REG. No. 3369 E'34 425.

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

4 ....stu sa[r]vvam=ama[ṁ]galaṁ || [5 ||*] Vaṁśasya tasya mahimā bhuvana-prasiddhaḥ kiṁ varṇṇyatē sa bhagavāñ=jagatāṁ nivāsaḥ | Kans(ṁs)-ārir=ādipurushaḥ svayam=ēva janma jagrāha yattra sura-dānava-vandit-āṁghriḥ || [6 ||*] Vāḍhaṁ gāḍha ◡— —◡◡◡◡◡◡— — ◡— —◡— —

5 — — — —ra-namyā va(ba)hubhir=api parair=mmārgganaiḥ śrīyamānāḥ | vaṁśēr(śē) tasminn=abhūvann=adhika-kṛita-bhay-ōḍḍāyit-ārāti-kākā bhrātaḥ kiṁ chāpa-daṇḍā na hi sarala-matē bhūbhujaḥ Śūra-sēnāḥ || [7 ||*] Nētr-ānanda-karēṇa kānta-vapushā — —◡— —◡— — — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— [saubhā*]-

6 gya-kōśēna cha | chandrēṇ=āpi kalaṁkinā nija-kulasy=ādyēna vandy-ātmanā lajjantē khalu nishkalaṁka-charitā yē=dy=āpi kālē kalau || [8 ||*] Bhuktvā bhuktvā dharittrīṁ chatur-udadhi-payaḥ-prāvṛitāṁ niḥsapatnāṁ kṛitvā kṛitv=Āśvamē[dhān=niyata] ◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — —◡— — ◡

7 [di]m=avani-bhujāṁ gachchhatāṁ puṇya-bhājāṁ madhyē kāla-kramēṇa kraśita-ripur=abhūt=**Phakka**-nāmā narēndraḥ || [9 || *] Vra(Bra)hm-Ēndr-Ōpēndra-Chandra-Draviṇa-pati-Yamair=apy=ayaṁ lōka-nāthaḥ sārddhaṁ yōddhuṁ samarthaḥ sakalam=api jagan=manyamānas=tṛiṇāya | kēśēshv=ā[kramya]— —◡◡◡◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — —◡[La*]-

8 kshmīr=bhaya-chakita-manā yat-kulē=pi sthir=ābhūt || [10* ||] Gōttrē yattra pavitr-ātmā satāṁ ttrātā dvishāṁ vishaṁ | va(ba)bhūva **Vappukō** nāma yaśō-rāśiḥ pratāpavān || [11 ||*] Sēvā-saṁnihitaiḥ surair=iva nṛipai Rambh-Ōrvvaśībhyāṁ samair=mmāṇiky-ābharaṇaiḥ surūpa ◡◡— — —◡— —◡—[|*]— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡

9 [vabhai]r=[uchchaiḥśravaḥ]-sannibhair=aśvair=Indra iv=āparaḥ kshiti-talē yō dṛik-sahasraṁ vinā || [12 ||*] Tasya **Rājayikō** jātō Jāmadagnya iv=ātmajaḥ raṇē rājanya-mūrddhānō nirlūnā yēna līlayā || [13 ||*] **Māyūrika**-kula-bhūtāṁ tēn=ōḍhvā **Sajjan**=īti vikhyātāṁ [|]...............[Hṛida* ?]-

10 yēshu dvi[shāṁ] bhūpaḥ sa[bhayē]shu divā-niśaṁ | tishṭhann=api na saṁspṛishṭō na cha dṛishṭō bhayēna yaḥ || [15 ||*] Na prākārair=nna sāraiḥ kari-turaga-narair=nn=ādribhis=tuṁga-śṛiṁgair=nn=āmbhō-gaṁbhīra-garttair=jjala-vikala-bhuvāṁ na sthalair=nna drum-aughaiḥ | n=ānyair=mmā[yā-purair=]—◡◡◡◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — — —◡—

11 ṇaṁ pravi[śad=a]ri-puraṁ nirddahad=v(b)ambhajāch=cha || [16||*] Divyair=ābharaṇ-āṁga-rāga-vasanaiḥ pushpaiś=cha śṛiṁgāritāḥ sarvvattr=ōtsava-gīta-tūrya-rasitair=ānanda-sāndrāḥ prajāḥ | praty=av(b)daṁ vasudhāṁ cha sasya-saphalām=ālōkya yō vismitair=lōkair=—◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— — —◡— —◡—[||17||*] —[jvā ?]-

12 lā-māli[nō]=pi jvalita-huta-bhujō gharmma-kālē=ntarālād=bhaṅga-vrīḍāṁ vahantaḥ smṛita-kula-charitā vi(bi)bhyati [sm=ā ?]tta-sat(tt)vāḥ | dusht-ārushṭa-dvipēndra-sthita-subhaṭa-kar-ākrānta-kunt-āgra-raudraṁ saṁgrāmaṁ bhāvayanti pratiniyata-vadhaṁ strī-sabhāṁ(bhaṁ) yē niku[mbhāḥ] || [18||*].......◡— —.........◡—◡.. [|*].....

13 mv(b)udha— —..ś=chandramā iva vai rukaḥ(chā ?) || [19||*] **Pramāra**-kula-saṁbhūtā sādhvī tēna mahātmanā | **Yaśaskar**=īti vikhyātā pariṇītā yaśō-rthinā || [20||*] Tēn=ādhipēna tanayā sa-nayā su-rūpā puṇya-priyā savinayā śubha-lakshaṇā cha | tasyāṁ ....[sama ?*]-

14 jani **Chittralēkhā** || [21||*] Tēna **Maṁgalarājēna** sā śāstr-ārtha-vidā satā | sādhvī bhrātṛimatī rājñā pariṇītā priyaṁvadā || [22||*] Pativratāṁ vīkshya kalau yugē tāṁ lōkaiḥ kṛita-strīshu mahā-satīshu | Arundhatī-Parvvata-rāja-puttrī-La[kshmī ?]◡— — ◡◡—◡— —[||23||*].........

15 ..[tan-nāma] gṛihn(ṇ)atī nṛiṇāṁ | śravaṇā[v=api ?] śṛiṇvantau galit-ākhila-kalmashau bhavataḥ || [24||*] Śēshō=pi bhūri-vadanō na guṇāṁs=tadīyān śaknōti vaktum=achirāt-kimu mādṛiśō=nyaḥ | Manv-ādi-kīrttita-manas=tu(?) su-kīrtti y=aiva strī-dharmmam =āśu ⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑— —[||25||*] — —⏑— —⏑⏑—⏑— — — —

16 sutō=bhūt=priya-sat(tt)va-satyaḥ | āśvētayad=yaḥ sva-yaśaḥ-prabhābhir=vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-madhyaṁ vidhut-āri-chakraḥ || [26||*] Dilīpa-Raghu-Rāmāṇām charitaṁ chāru-darśanaḥ | anukṛitya prajānāṁ yō jagāma priyatāṁ vibhuḥ || [27||*] Ākramya dru[ma]-saṁginī [dalita-] — — —⏑— —⏑— — — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑— —

17 [tyakta-bhīḥ] kasuśikaḥ | chakr-āhva-dvitayāni yānti vibhidāṁ prauḍha-kshap-āśaṁkayā yasy=ānēka-va(ba)l-augha-dhūli-paṭalair=āchchhāditē bhāsvati || [28||*] Dhāvantyā sakhi saṁbhramēṇa galitā n=[ā]grāhi kāṁchī mayā hārō yasya samarppitas= tvaritayā taṁ na smarāmi sphuṭaṁ | — — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—

18 d=uttārya bhagn=āsmy=ahaṁ śōchant=īti ripu-striyaḥ sva-puratō yat-sainik-ōdvāsitāḥ || [29||*] **Indrajid**=anu cha sutō-bhūd=yasyāḥ saṁgrāma-lōlupaḥ prathitaḥ | jitvā va(ba)hu-bhūp-ēndrān=upahasitō Rāvaṇir=yēna || [30||*] Saujanyasya nidhir=ddayālu-hṛidayaḥ kalpa-drumō mārgga[ṇē]— — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—

19 sat(tt)v-ādhikaḥ satya-gīḥ | su-prītiḥ pratipanna-pālana-vidhau chaṇḍa-dvishām=antakaḥ pūrṇṇ-ēndu-dyuti-śubhra-bhūri-charitō yō vidyay=ālaṁkṛitaḥ || [31||*] Tad-anu cha **Lakshmaṇarājō** jātas=tasyāḥ sutaḥ Pṛithu-prakhyaḥ | **Chāmuṇḍarāja**-nāmā paśchād=Bhīm-ādhikaḥ sva-guṇaiḥ || [32||*] Kusuma..........[saubhā ?]-

20 gya-rūpa-rājyāni | muktiḥ svargga-nivāsō na bhavanti vin=ārchcha[naṁ] Vishṇōḥ || [33||*] Ity=ālōchya chirāya chāru-charitā sā Chittralēkhā satī sarvvaṁ chaṁchalam= ākalayya jagatō rūpam vapur=jjīvitaṁ | Vishṇōḥ kārayatē sma mandiram=idaṁ hēm-āṇḍa-chūḍā-maṇi-vyālamv(b)-[ārddhaka]-daṇḍa—⏑⏑⏑— — — [pa*]-

21 tāk-āṁśukaiḥ || [34||*] Kēyūra-tāra-hārair=maṇi-nūpura-kanaka-kaṁkaṇ-āvalibhiḥ | kaladhauta-mēkhalābhir=yāḥ kalpa-latā iv=ābhānti || [35||*] Yāsāṁ darśana-lōbhān= na kshaṇam=api Madhu-ripur=nnijāṁ pratimāṁ | muṁchati na cha Rambh-ādyāḥ svargga-strīḥ saṁsmaraty=a[dhunā] || [36||*] [Prativimvi(bimbi)tā (?)] ......[ni*]-

22 rmmala-kapōla-phalakēshu | anubhavati [s-ērshya]-Lakshmī-kalahaṁ manyē smitaḥ satataṁ || [37||*] Kuvalaya-dala-nayanābhiḥ pṛithu-jaghanābhiḥ śaśāṅka-vadanābhiḥ | prēkshaṇakam=aṁganābhis=tābhiḥ siddhaṁ tayā dattaṁ || [38||*] **Gōgrapura-Nāgapallyau** dvau grāmau Chakriṇē tatō dat(tt)vā | kshē[ttrāṇi **Hāḍha pallyāṁ** (?)]............

23 [m=a]sya || [39||*] Dramma-ttritayaṁ dattē prati-divasaṁ **Śrīpathā**-stha-maṇḍapikā | aparaṁ ttrikaṁ **Vusāvaṭa**-maṇḍapikā Śārṅgiṇē satataṁ || [40||*] Prati-ghōṭakaṁ cha dānē drammō dēvasya bhagavatō vihitaḥ | ēshā kṛitā vyavasthā rājñyā śrī-Chittralēkhayā bhaktyā || [41||*] Mahārājādhirājēna śrī-**Mahīpāla**-bhūbhujā...... ..⏑— —........

24 Cha[shṭha]-maṇḍalē || [42||*] Yāvad=dadhāti vasudhāṁ sa-dharāṁ phaṇ-īndrō yāvaj= jalaṁ cha vimalaṁ marud-āpagāyāṁ | prālēyaśaila-śikhar-ākṛiti-chittra-chāru tāvad=vibhātu bhuvi harmmyam=idam Murārēḥ || [43||*] **Ēkē varsha-sahasrē dvādaśabhir=vvatsarair=yutē Māghē | dvādaśyāṁ śubhrāyāṁ [pratishṭhitaṁ śaśi-dinē ?]**......[||44||*]

25 Viprēṇa **Sajjana**-nāmnā virachitā praśastiḥ Karaṇika-**Śrīśaktinā** likhitā **Śrīpālēn**= ōtkīrṇṇā suvarṇṇakārēṇa || Bhadram=astu || **Aluvadraka**-nāmānaṁ grāmam=asmai ravi-grahē Indrajid=da⏑— —..........⏑—⏑..[||45||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.)..........From (*his*) mouth was born the fire and from the head the sky........

(V. 2.) From the moon sprang the royal family (*tree*) which had a thick foliage, had kept off the heat (or suffering) of the people through its thousand branches and was productive of much fruits (or good) and which, though high (or noble), was free from encountering shocks and breaking down (or fear and destruction).

(V. 3.) (*In which family*)......rejoiced together and where was born Purūravas, the common abode of beauty and valour.

(V. 4.) Where was born Nahusha, whom when he obtained the kingship of the gods in heaven, all the gods, Yama and others........

(V. 5.) ...... (*may remove* ?) all evils...............

(V. 6.) The greatness of this family is well known throughout the world. What more to say, where the Lord of the creation (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the enemy of Kaṁsa, who is the refuge of all creatures and whose feet are worshipped (*equally*) by the gods and demons, himself took his birth.

(V. 7.) In that family were born (*those*) who were honoured by......and resorted to by numerous other supplicants, who made the crow-like enemies fly with their fear increased. O brother, were they the bows ? No, simple minded (*fool*), they were the Śūrasēna kings.

(V. 8.) Who, even today, in this Kali age, being of spotless character feel ashamed of the moon, the originator of their race on account of his having a stain though it has a beautiful form pleasing to the eye......and is honoured (*by people*).

(V. 9.) In course of time, amongst the righteous kings who had passed away, each in his turn, after enjoying the earth extended to the four oceans and free from all enemies and performing the Horse-Sacrifice........there was born a king named **Phakka** who had exterminated (*lit*. thinned) his enemies.

(V. 10.) This lord of the people was able to fight even with Brahman, Indra, Upēndra, the Moon, Kuvēra and Yama and regarded the whole earth (*as contemptible*) as a blade of grass. Dragged by hair, Lakshmī,....with her mind struck with fear became settled in his family.

(V. 11.) In that family was born **Vappuka** who was a mass of fame and was powerful, whose soul was pure and who was the saviour of the good (*but*) was (*like*) poison to his enemies.

(V. 12.) Who, through having princes, who were like gods and who had come to him for (*rendering*) service, through (*women*) adorned with diamonds and equalling Rambhā and Ūrvaśī (*in beauty*)... and through horses that were like Uchchaiḥśravas—was like another Indra on the face of the earth ; (*only he was*) without his (Indra's) thousand eyes.

(V. 13.) To him was born a son (*named*) **Rājayika** who was like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) inasmuch as he cut off the heads of warriors in battle with (*perfect*) ease.

(V. 14.) He having married the well-known **Sajjanī** born in the **Māyūrika** family.......

(V. 15.) The king, though residing day and night in the enemies' hearts possessed of fear, was neither touched nor (*even*) seen by that fear.

(V. 16.) (*The king not daunted by*) ramparts, nor by the (*army consisting of the*) best of elephants, horses and men, nor by hills with high peaks, nor by the deep ravines caused by (*the rush of*) water, nor by land and forests of trees nor by phantom cities.....entering the city of the enemy, burning (*it*) and completely annihilating (*it*).

(V. 17.) (*Whose*) subjects, adorned with beautiful ornaments, perfumes and clothes and decked with flowers, were full of enjoyments everywhere through festivities, songs and sounds of drums. And every year seeing with wondering eyes that the earth was full of crops, who......

(V. 18.) Even (*men*) of strong character (?), bearing the shame of defeat, feel frightened being reminded of the family of him (*who was unbearable like*) the fire with a garland of flames during the hot season—those wicked demons (?) who look upon the battle—which is made fierce by the heads of spears held in the hands of the best of warriors seated on the wicked and angry elephants—like an assembly of women.

(V. 19.) ......like the moon in splendour.

(V. 20.) By that great soul, who wanted fame, was married (*the lady*) named **Yaśaskarī**, who was chaste and was born in the **Pramāra** family.

(V. 21.) By that king was begotten on her (*i.e.* Yaśaskarī).....a daughter (*named*) **Chittralēkhā** who was well-behaved, beautiful, fond of (*acquiring*) merit, well-disciplined and auspicious.

(V. 22.) By that good king **Maṅgalarāja** who knew the proper interpretation of the Śāstras, she, who was devoted to her husband, who had brothers and who spoke pleasantly, was married.

(V. 23.) Seeing her devotedness to her husband, in the Kali age, the people (*placed her*) among women of the Kṛita age who were great *Satīs* (chaste women) like Arundhatī, the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Gaurī) and Lakshmī.

(V. 24.) ....by uttering her name, even hearing (*her name*) the ears of men are rendered free from all sins.

(V. 25.) Even Śēsha, possessing many mouths, cannot speak of her qualities, quickly; how can one like myself (*do so*) ?.. .. ..

(V. 26.) .....(*She*) had a son to whom were dear energy and truth (*and*) who, having destroyed the circle of his enemies, brightened the interior of the universe by the rays of his fame.

(V. 27.) This king of beautiful form, following the conduct of Dilīpa, Raghu and Rāma, obtained the love of his subjects.

(V. 28.) ......The sun being covered by the mass of dust (*raised by the feet*) of the multitude of his armies, the owl is without fear and the *chakravāka* pairs separate fearing that the night was far advanced.

(V. 29.) The wives of his enemies driven out of their own city by his soldiers thus lament: O friend, while flying in confusion, my girdle which had dropped was not picked up by me; I do not remember distinctly the person to whom I entrusted my necklace....

(V. 30.) Her younger son was **Indrajit** who was well-known, and eager for battles. Having conquered many kings the son of Rāvaṇa (*i.e.*, Indrajit) was jeered at by him.

(V. 31.) (*He was*) the abode of civility, was kindhearted and was like a *kalpa-druma* (wish-giving tree) to the supplicants......, was full of energy and truthful, took a great delight in protecting those who had approached (*him*), and was like the god of death to rampant enemies. His numerous acts were white like the rays of the full moon and he was adorned with knowledge.

(V. 32.) After him was born unto her a son named **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who was as celebrated as Pṛithu and after him another (*son named*) **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who was greater than Bhīma through his own qualities.

(V. 33.) ..... good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Vishṇu.

(V. 34.) Having thought of this for a long time and having found out that everything on this earth (*as well as*) beauty, body (*and*) life are transient, she, Chittralēkhā, the chaste and of esteemed character, caused to be made this temple of Vishṇu with a crest-jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was....(*adorned with* ?).....and flags.

(V. 35.) (*The girls*) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold, (*and also*) with the girdles of gold appear like (*so many*) wishing-creepers (*kalpa-latā*).

(V. 36.) Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the enemy of Madhu does not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remember the heavenly damsels like Rambhā and others.

(V. 37.) They being reflected (?) in (*his*) pure cheeks, the smiling (*Vishṇu*) always experiences the anger of the jealous Lakshmī.

(V. 38.) A show given by these ladies whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, whose hips were heavy and whose faces were like the moon was also arranged by her.[1]

(V. 39.) Having given to Vishṇu the two villages **Gōgrapura** and **Nāgapallī** (*she also gave*) fields at **Hāḍhapallī**.

(V. 40.) Three *drammas* were given, every day, to the holder of the Śārṅga bow (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) by the market-place[2] at **Śrīpathā** and also another three by the market place at **Vusāvaṭa**.

(V. 41.) A gift of one *dramma* per horse was fixed for the god, the lord. This arrangement was made by the queen, the illustrious Chittralēkhā, out of devotion.

(V. 42.) By the illustrious king, the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahīpāla**......in Chashṭha-*maṇḍala*.

(V. 43.) As long as the lord of the snakes bears the earth along with the mountains, as long as there is pure water in the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Ganges), so long may this temple of the enemy of Mura (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) which is (*as high as*) the peak of the Snowy Mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) and which is conspicuous and beautiful, continue to shine on this earth.

(V. 44.) In the year **one thousand increased by twelve years, on Monday** (?) **the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha** was (*this temple*) dedicated.

Line 25. This eulogy was composed by the Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana**, written by the *Karaṇika* **Śrīśakti** (*and*) incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla**. Let there be good (*for all*). **Indrajit** (*gave*) to him (*i.e.*, the god Vishṇu), the village of **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse......

No. 21.—THE GURGI INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA[3].

BY THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago, among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj, at **Gurgi**, a village about two miles due east of Rewah town, in the state of that name, in the Baghelkhand Agency of Central India. Gurgi is situated in lat. 81° 27′ and long. 21° 30′ (*vide* sheet No. XIII of the Rewah Topographical Survey, issued by the Survey of India in 1873). Though Rewah had been visited by older members of the Archæological Survey of India such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr. J. D. M. Beglar and H. B. W. Garrick, this inscription has not been noticed by any one of them.[4] It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewah just below the Throne Room or Durbar Hall. Its existence was brought to my notice in April 1920 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., then Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewah State who also gave me information about its place of discovery.

[1] Probably in verses 35-38 we have a reference to the dancing girls (*dēva-dāsī*) given to the temple.

[2] *Maṇḍapikā*=a market place (*maṇḍavō* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī).

[3] [The text and translation of this inscription were published in Mr. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Archæological Survey of India Memoir No. 23) pp. 122 ff., but as they contained a number of errors the inscription as revised by me is re-edited here.—Ed.]

[4] [Probably the stone inscription referred to by Beglar in Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIII, p. 13, note 1, is identical with the present inscription.—Ed.]

The inscribed slab measures about 4′ 1″ by 3′ 4″ and the average height of each letter is ⅞″. The entire surface with the exception of about two inches at the top and six inches at the bottom is covered with writing. There are altogether forty-nine lines of writing on the slab. With the exception of the invocation at the beginning, the entire inscription is in verse. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the record has, on the whole, been very carefully incised. Consonants with a subscript *r* are not doubled, but there are exceptions, *e.g.*, *ttridaśa* (l. 3). Consonants with a superscript *r* have been doubled in all cases. The **characters** of the inscription are similar to those of the Chandrehe inscription of Prabōdhaśiva of the Kalachuri year 724.[1] The initial form of *i* consists of two dots placed side by side and a comma below them: *cf.*, *iva* (ll. 7, 20) and *ittham̐* (l. 13). Among consonants the following forms call for notice. There are two triangles in the lower part of *kha* one at the foot of each of the vertical lines, *cf.*, *akhila* (l. 8). Two forms of *tha* have been used: the older form consisting of two spheres one over the other and the later form in which the upper loop has become open, *cf.*, *mithy=* (l. 3) and *prathita* (l. 15). An angle is present in the back of *da* in all cases, *cf.*, *jagad* (l. 2). The upper part of *dha* is undeveloped and the letter consists of a loop attached to the left side of a vertical straight line. An acute angle is also to be seen in the lower part of *bha*, *cf.*, *mahōbhiḥ* (l. 7). *Ra* is wedge-shaped, *cf.*, *ripu* (l. 3). In *la* there is only one curved line in the left limb of the letter instead of two as in later forms, *cf.*, *vāla* (l. 1). The palatal *śa*, in all cases, is of the transitional form, in which the right limb of the letter consists of a straight line which is not touched by the left limb. This left limb is formed of a curve shaped like the Roman letter 'S' with a triangle at the bottom, *cf.*, *śrēṇi* (l. 1). The sign of *avagraha* has been used occasionally in this inscription, *cf.*, *tasy=āspadē= 'gra* (l. 30) and *Mahēndrē='rvvudē* (l. 31). The final form of *t* is to be found in *abhūt* (l. 38) and of *m* in *saiddhāntikānām* (l. 5) and *dōsham* (l. 6). A peculiar form of the ligature *kra* is noticeable in *ākranda* (l. 2).

The inscription, so far as is left of it, is not dated and from its fragmentary nature it is difficult to say with certainty to the reign of which Kalachuri king it belonged. It falls into two different parts: the first part consisting of the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the **Mattamayūra** clan and the second of a short account of the rulers of the **Haihaya** dynasty of **Tripurī** and the landed property belonging to the Śaiva ascetics. In this respect the Gurgi inscription resembles the Bilhari inscription[2] of the rulers of Chēdī.

The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva. In the third verse we are introduced to Madhumatī an abode of the *Saiddhāntikas* and the clan of "mad-peacocks". The fourth verse also refers to this clan of Śaiva ascetics. In this (religious) family of Śaiva ascetics was an ascetic named **Chūḍāśiva.** His disciple was called **Prabhāvaśiva. Yuvarājadēva I.**, son of **Mugdhatuṅga** (Prasiddhadhavala), having brought him (to the Chēdī country), made him accept a monastery which was built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple **Praśānta-śiva** is the most prominent figure in this inscription as well as in that found at Chandrehe. From verse 11 of the present record we learn that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the palace built by Yuvarājadēva I. In addition to this temple he had dedicated images of Umā, Śiva and Durgā (*i.e.*, Ardhanārīśvara), Kārttikēya (Shaḍānana), Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī in the temples close to the palace (v. 12). This abbot also built for himself a retreat for meditation (*tapaḥ sthānakam*) on the banks of the Sōṇa, an account of which we also find in the Chandrehe inscription. He was succeeded by his disciple whose name cannot be read (v. 17).[3] This disciple of Praśāntaśiva gave his place (as head of the monastery) to a younger brother disciple named Prabōdhaśiva (l. 25).

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 149 f.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

[3] [I read the name as Īśānaśambhu.—Ed.]

From the 26th line the record becomes almost entirely illegible with the exception of a few letters at the extreme right. **Prabōdhaśiva** appears to be the abbot in whose time the inscription was incised. The **object** of the record was very probably to commemorate repairs to an object caused to be built by his spiritual preceptor (*sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-* l. 26) as well as some monument erected by himself (*sat-karmma-nirmmāpitam* l. 29). Verses 36-43 also seem to record certain grants made by **Yuvarāja (II)**. The account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty probably began from v. 27 introducing the family of the moon to which the Kalachuris belonged. The last few words in l. 35 indicate the defeat of a **Gūrjara** king, evidently a king of Kanauj. The **Kōkalladēva** mentioned in l. 40 is probably the second king of that name who was the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva II. There is a reference to the defeat of a **Gūrjara** ruler and a king of **Gauḍa**. The country of **Vanavāsa** and the lord(?) of **Kuntala** appear to have been mentioned in l. 42. These two countries are most probably mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva, the son of Kōkalla II. and the father of the great conqueror Karṇa, whose conquest of the Kuntala country is mentioned in the Khairhā plates of his grandson Yaśaḥkarṇa.[1] The mention of the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva indicates that Prabōdhaśiva was alive in his reign and therefore the record is later in date than the Chandrehe inscription. The next five lines contain the property bestowed on the Śaiva ascetics possibly by Yuvarājadēva I. who is mentioned in l. 47 and also by his surname Kēyūravarsha, in l. 43. In l. 43 are mentioned **Sārasaḍōllaka**—which is identified by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway—**Vakaḍōllaka** and three other villages. In l. 44 we have **Ābhīrapallī, Kavacha-Kshētra** and a third name **Sarasvatī** which may be that of a village or of a river. In the next line a number of villages are mentioned of which the following only are legible : **Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhadvachiurā, Tujumbā, Kukkuḍiyā** and **Rajōgrāma.** It is stated in l. 47 that **Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Nannēśvara-Kshētra** and another village, the name of which is not clear, were given to the god Sōmanātha. The *praśasti* was composed by **Madhu,** the son of Trayīvarddhana of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra.* It was written on the stone by **Śivanāga** the son of Avvōka and incised by the *sūtradhāra* **Mādhava** the son of Mahēśvara. I am unable to identify the localities mentioned and edit the record from the original stone which I examined on several occasions in 1920 and in 1921.

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1-5 and 16 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 6-8, 12, 17, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30-33 and 35 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9-11, 13-15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25 and 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 29 and 34 *Mālinī* ; vv. 36-46 *Anushṭubh*].

1 Ōṁ[2] ——— vāya || Lāṅkā-[vīrēndra(?)]-vā(bā)hu-vyatikara-chaṭula-[sphā]ṭik-ādrindra-kōṭi-śrēṇi-saṁghaṭṭa-vi(bi)bhyad-gaganachara-vara-chchhanna-dik-chakravālaṁ

[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 210 ff. [The context does not give us any justification of bringing in Gāṅgēyadēva. It shows, on the other hand, that the credit of the conquests mentioned in verse 34 must go to Kōkalladēva (II.) who is introduced in the verse immediately preceding it. Moreover, since both the Chandrehe inscription (973 A.D.) and the present record belong to the time of Prabōdhaśiva, it is very unlikely that he could flourish at the time of Gāṅgēyadēva (1037 A.D.) also. It is more likely that the grants were made by Yuvarājadēva (II.), as indicated by v. 43, probably towards the end of his reign and recorded at the time of his son Kōkalla (II) who is mentioned as *nṛipati* in l. 41. If my surmise is correct then v. 34 gives us some new information about the achievements of Kōkalla II. and v. 35 indicates that Yuvarājadēva (II.) also bore the surname of Kēyūravarsha like his grandfather, Yuvarāja (I.).—Ed.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 — — — — ⏑ — lā(?) jagad=akṛita tad-ākranda-ni[rhrā]da-ghōra-svachchhandaḥ sō=dri-vāsī mudam=upachinutāch=chandra-chūḍā-maṇir=vvaḥ || [1 ||*] Nandin=k=ēyaṁ pravishṭā [paśupati]-

3 ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ dēvī=ti many[ē] mithy=aitan=n=āsmi s=āny[ā] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — śa | mugdhē tvad-rūpa-dhārī ttridaśa-ripur=asau dṛiśyatāṁ pāṭitō=grē kēn=āstrēṇ=ēti dē-

4 [vyā] ka[ṭu]-vachana-jitaḥ pātu maunī [Śivō] vaḥ || [2 ||*] — — — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ha snigdha-dhūma-prava(ba)ndha-prāravdh(bdh)-ākāla-mēgh-ōdaya-mada-mudit-ōnnādi-nṛityan-mayūrā | a-

5 sty=uchchaiḥ [sau]dha-jāla-jvalad-anaṇu-maṇi-[jyō]tishāñ=cha[kravā]laiḥ svar-llōkam=vā hasantī jagati Madhumatī dhāma saiddhāntikānām || [3 ||*] Pūrvvē yatr=āvatīrya vrata-niyata-manō-vṛitta-

6 yas=tāpas-ēndrāḥ śishyāṇām=āśaśaṁsuḥ Śiva-matam=atanu vyasta-niḥśēsha-dōsham | yēshām=ady=āpi kīrttir=ddhavalayati sudhā-dhauta-kāntiḥ prasiddhā viśvaṁ sampanna-vidvaj-ja-

7 na-kumuda-van-ānandinī chandrik=ēva || [4 ||*] Śaivānām=anvayē=sminn=ati-mahati munir=mmānanīyō munīnām=ēnaḥ-śushk-ēndhanānāṇ=dava-dahana iva dyōtamānair=mmahōbhiḥ |

8 śrīmāṁś=Chūḍāśivō=bhūd=Bhava-charaṇa-yuga-dhyāna-vō(bō)dh-arddhi-lābha-prōdbhūt-ātyanta-śubhra-ttribhuvana-bhavan-ābhyantara-bhrānta-kīrttiḥ || [5 ||*] Tasy=ākhila-kshitipati-praṇat-ōttamāṅga-chūḍā-

9 maṇi-dyuti-chay-ārchchita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śishyō va(ba)bhūva bhuvana-traya-kīrtta-nīyaḥ śrīmat-Prabhāvaśiva-nāma-munir=manīshī || [6 ||*] Ānīya yaṁ sahaja-vāsanayā nayajñaḥ śrī-Mugdha-

10 tuṅga-tanayō Yuvarājadēvaḥ | sat(tt)v-ōpakāra-bhavad-uttama-kīrtti-hētōr=agrāhayan=maṭham=ananta-dhana-pratishṭham || [7 ||*] Tasy=āmalēna tapasā cha vivardha-māna-vidyā-va(ba)lēna cha sama-

11 sta-jagat-pratītaḥ | śishyaḥ prakāma-kamanīya-guṇ-aika-dhāma śrīmat-Praśāntaśiva-nāma-munir=vva(bba)bhūva || [8 ||*] Ākṛishṭā chira-sañchitēna tapasā yasy=āṅga-saṅg-ōtsukā Lakshmīr=bhōga-

12 parāṅmukhasya satataṁ niḥśrēyas-ākāṁkshayā | ājñāṁ prāpya par-ōpakāra-kṛitayē tad-vallabhānāṁ satāṁ sthānēshu sthiratām=avāpa vanit=ēv=ātyanta-satya-vratā || [9||*] Tyāgaṁ stambham=i-

13 v=āvalaṁv(b)ya vilasaj-jñān-āmvu(mbu)-sēka-kriyām=āsādya prasarat-tapō-va(ba)la-kṛita-pratyanta-rakshā-kramaḥ | itthaṁ yasya yas(ś)ō-mayaḥ sa vavṛidhē kālēna kalpa-durmō yēna vyāptam=idaṁ prasa-

14 hya sakalaṁ vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-bhāṇḍ-ōdaram || [10 ||*] Yēna śrī-Yuvarāja-kārita-lasat-Kailāsa-śṛiṅg-ōpama-prāsād-ōttarataḥ Sumēru-śikhara-sparddhi prasiddham=bhuvi | sadma sthāpitam=Īśva-

15 rasya sakala-trailōkya-vismāpakaṁ yat=svarggaṁ vrajatas=tadīya-yasa(śa)saḥ sōpāna-mārggāyatē || [11 ||*] Yaḥ pratyatishṭhipad=Umām=Umayā cha miśram=Īśaṁ Shaḍānanam=atha prathit-ōru-kīrttiḥ |

16 prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-gṛihēshu vidvān=dvārē tathā Gaṇapatiñ=cha Sarasvatīñ=cha || [12 ||*] Dāh-ōttīrṇṇa-suvarṇṇa-dāna-śamita-dravy-ārthi-sārtha-spṛihaḥ siddha-sthānam=achīkarat=tad=aparaṁ yaḥ Sō-

17 ṇa-tīr-ōpari | yasmin=yōga-jushaḥ praviśya niyama-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ śāntāḥ siddha-samādhayō='chchha-matayō gachchhanti muktēḥ padam || [13 ||*] Tīrtha-sthāna-nishēvaṇ-ōdyata-dhiyā-

18 m=atyanta-viśrāntayē yas=tat=kāritava(vā)n=muniḥ sura-sarit-tīrē tapaḥ-sthānakam | yat=saṁsēvya Mahēśvar-ārchchana-ratā Vārāṇasī-vāsinō manyantē bhava-sāgaraṁ gurum=api kshīṇaṁ

19 yathā [gōshpa]dam || [14 ||*] Āsīnasya jit-āsanasya vijanē hṛit-padma-madhya-sthita-Sthāṇu-dhyāna-nilīna-niśchala-manaḥ-saṁvēdit-āntar-mmudaḥ | jagmur=yasya dināni dāna-nirata-

20 — — ∪ — — [rthika?] tat(tt)va-jñāna-vichakshaṇaiś=cha guṇibhiḥ sārddhaṁ parīkshā-kshamaiḥ || [15 ||*] Tīvr-āṁśōr=aṁśu-saṁghā iva niratiśay-ōllāsinaḥ svaiḥ pra-bhāvai[r]=yasy=āntēvāsinō=dhas=tamasi ni-

21 ∪ ∪ —[1][pratyahaṁ] vō(bō)dhaya[ntaḥ |]=kān[2]=ālōka-dān-ōpakṛiti-pariṇamat-kīrttayaḥ saṁbhṛit-ājñā-śōbhā-bhūbhṛich-chhirōbhiḥ pravara-muni-janair=a[r]chyamānāś=charanti || [16 ||*] Tasy=ābhava-

22 [t=]∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — —. ḥ samasta-kavi-puṁgava-gīta-kīrttiḥ | śr-**Īśānaśambhur**=akhil-āvanipāla-mauli-mālā-maṇi-dyuti-piśaṁgita-pāda-padmaḥ || [17 ||*] Ni[r]jjitya

23 ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪sarv[v]=ārthināṁ yēna śrīr=gamit=ōpabhōga-padavī [dau]rggatya-duḥkha-chchhidā | sad-vidyā-bhava-va(ba)ndhana-vyatikara-pradhvan(ṁ)sa-karmma-kshama-vyāpār=ēti

24 [samagra-saṁ?] ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — || [18 ||*] Yō mādyat-kali-kāla-danti-dalana-vyāpāra-pañchānanaḥ śrīman-**Mattamayūra**-vansa(vaṁśa)-tilakō niḥśēsha-vidyā-nidhiḥ | vidvat-pa- . . . .

25 [rshada] — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [tasy]=āśēsha-guṇ-ākarasya bhuva[n .] — — ∪ — — ∪ — || [19 ||*] Śrīmat-**Pravō(bō)dhaśiva**-nāma-nij-ānujasya sthānaṁ sama-[r*]pya viji- . . . . . .

26 — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — [| *] — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — [|| 20 ||*] [Yēna] tyāga-tapaḥ-samādhi-nidhinā sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-

27 — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [| *] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ta-siddhi-vā(bā)dhaka-bhi[yā] n=ōllaṁghayanty=amva-(mba)rē || [21 ||*] Kū-

28 [paṁ] — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [| *] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ [. ā]rthi-nivaha[-sā?]rthō=py=apūrvv-ēpsita-prājya-sva-

29 ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [|| 22 ||*] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ valla∪ ∪ — sat-karmma-nirmmāpitam |

30 — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [|| 23 ||*] — — ∪ — [tad-anu?] — ∪ ∪[r=u?]nnat-ātmā tasy=āspadē='gra-

31 ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — [| *] — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — [|| 24 ||*] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — [Ma?]hēndrē='rvvu(rbbu)dē yasy=ōchchaiś=cha

32 ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [| *] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪[m=āsī]t=kshamaḥ || [25 ||*] Sāmantapāṭa-

33 [ka*]∪ — ∪ ∪yāya — — — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — [| *] — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪nīnā[m] || [26 ||*] Ēṇ-āṅk-ānvaya-

34 — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — [| *] — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — [gṛi]hītvā va(ba)lāt=khyātaṁ kha-

[1] We may have to restore as *nipatitān=*.

[2] Restore as *lōkān*(?).

35 [dga*]⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑—[||27||*]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑———⏑
—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [| *] nirjjitya **Gūrjjara**-patiṁ
36 ⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [||28 ||*] ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑
——⏑——⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑—— [| *]⏑⏑parijana-rakshō-
37 —⏑——⏑—— ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑——[||29 ||*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—
⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[| *] sā[nanda]-mauli-maṇi-
38 —⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[||30 ||*]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——
——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ parākramō=bhūt [| *] chitrē=pi ya[l-li]-
39 khita-rūpam=avēkshya —— [vī]ra-vratāṁ⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— || [31 ||*] ——⏑jā
⏑⏑⏑—⏑ta vī[ra] —— ——[ṇa]-vikrama-nidhir=viparīta-mallaḥ | āsīn=nṛi-
40 paḥ kavi-kadamva(mba)-[ghanāya]mānas=——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑[pa]ṅkaḥ ||
[32 ||*] Tasmād=abhūd=⏑ ⏑⏑ — dita-Pushpa[dhanvā?] ——yamāṇa-vapur=apra-
tima-pratāpaḥ | **Kōkalla**-
41 **dēva**-nṛipatiḥ patir=uttamā[nāṁ]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— || [33||*] [Pra]viśati
[ha]ta-śaktir=Gū[rjja]——[1][Hi]m-ādrim jalanidhi-jala-durggaṁ **Gauḍa**-rājō=dhiśē-
42 tē l nivasati **Vanavāsē Kuntalē**[1]— ⏑——⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑———⏑———⏑—— || [34 ||*]
——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ya-kīrttanīya[ṁ] puṇy-ānvitāya munayē svayam=a-
43 rchchitāya | ——nam=ū(u)llikhita-[śā?] ⏑⏑—⏑——[**Kēyū***]**ravarsha**-nṛipatiḥ⏑⏑—
⏑——||[35 ||*] Pakka.. ..⏑——[taṁ] tathā Sārasaḍōllakam | Vakkaḍōllaka-[Rajyau]-
44 chchvē(?)kō.. .. nā(?)sapuṇḍikā || [36 ||*] .. ..⏑ —— ⏑ .. .. puraṁ
[Khayēllikā?] | [puraṁ] Kalābhīrapallī.. .. .. .. Sarasvatī || [37 ||*] [Ētēshāṁ]
dvādaśakañ=cha Kavacha-kshētram=ēva cha |
45 Sāmantapāṭakaś=ch=aiva Vaṭa.. ..⏑—⏑⏑ [|| 38 ||*] .. .. ..[yāta ——yī] śāsana..
⏑m=ity=api | Sa.. .. [Bha]dvachiurā Tu[ju]mvā cha Ku[kku]ḍiyā || [39 ||*]
Rajō-grām-ānvitā-
46 n=ētān=śāsanatvēna dattavān | .. ..⏑[vēdā]nta-pāragāya garīyasē ||
[40 ||*] [Puraṁ] paura-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ [puraskāra(?)]-samastakaṁ | bhaktyā sama-
rppayāmāsa śāsanatvē-
47 na bhūpatiḥ || [41 ||*] Karōḍhakaṁ Vra(Bra)hmapurī[ṁ] si[chcha?]-kapōṇḍikām |
Nann-ēśvara-[kshētra]m=adāt=Sōmanāthāya Śa[mbhavē?] || [42 ||*] [Da]ttā śrī-
Yuvarājēna pālitā sāntarair=nnṛipaiḥ | ākalpa-
48 sthāyinī bhūyād=vṛittiḥ śaiva-tapō-bhṛitām || [43 ||*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-śrīmat-Trayī-
varddhana-nandanaḥ | prasa(śa)[stim=akarōt=] stutyō **Madhur**=madhurayā girā ||
[44 ||*] Alēkhi lēkhakēn=ēyam=A-
49 vvōka-tanujanmanā | aksharair=dṛishadi spashṭaiḥ **Śivanāgēna** dhīmatā || [45||*]
Utkīrṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Ma[hē]śvara-sutēna cha | **Mādhavēna**⏑——ṇa guṇinā Vi-
śvakarmmaṇā || [46 ||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! [Salutation to Śiva?] ||

(Verse 1.) Let the moon-crested (god Śiva) dwelling on the mountain, whose own pleasure is rendered terrible by the sound of the lamentation (*of the worldly beings* ?), who made the world ....with the horizon of its quarters covered by the best of birds frightened by the clashing of the row of the peaks of the excellent crystal mountain shaken by the movement of arms of the hero (?) of Laṅkā—increase your joy.

[1] Probably we have to restore as *Gūrjjar-ēśō* and *Kuntal-ēśō*.

(V. 2.) Nandin, who is the (*lady*) that has entered ... ? .... I think she is Dēvī. This is not true; I am not she; (*she is*) another person...... You simple minded, he is an *asura* who has assumed your form. See how I have felled him before me and by what weapon. Let Śiva who was (*thus*) silenced being conquered by the harsh(?) words of Dēvī, protect you.

(V. 3.) There is in this world, **Madhumatī**, the abode of the Saiddhāntikas, where the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the unseasonal rise of clouds formed by the mass of smoke ......and which is smiling (*in derision*) as it were, at the heaven through the mass of the rays of the big jewels shining on high in the rows of mansions.

(V. 4.) Where appeared the foremost of ascetics whose mind was restrained by vows and who taught the great doctrine of Śiva which is devoid of all faults; whose well-known fame the splendour of which (*was as white as if it had been*) washed with nectar, whitens the universe even today like the rays of the moon gladdening the mass of *kumuda* flowers which were the prosperous and learned men.

(V. 5.) In this great family of Śaivas was (*born*) the illustrious ascetic **Chūḍāśiva** who was honoured by sages and who in his shining glory was like the forest fire to the dry fuel of sin; whose fame was exceedingly white having arisen out of the perfection of knowledge acquired through meditation on the feet of Bhava (Śiva).

(V. 6.) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva** whose feet were worshipped by the rays of the crest jewels on the head of all the kings bowing (*in reverence*) and who was learned and famous in the three worlds.

(V. 7.) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva,** the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga,** who was versed in polity, in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of (*all*) beings, made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense.

(V. 8.) His disciple was the ascetic the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva,** who was famous in the whole world through his spotless austerities and force of learning which was (*always*) increasing and who was the sole abode of exceedingly good qualities.

(V. 9.) Attracted by (*his*) long accumulated austerities, Lakshmī, who was eager to have a bodily contact with him who was averse to pleasure on account of his desire of final emancipation, received his order to do good to others and obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very devoted wife, in the houses of the good who were his (Praśāntaśiva's) friends.

(V. 10.) Having taken to charity as the (*supporting*) pillar, having obtained the sprinkling of the water of shining knowledge, with all its tips protected by the increasing force of austerities, grew his wish-yielding tree (*kalpadruma*) which was his fame and which in time completely filled the vase-like interior of the universe.

(V. 11.) By him was established a temple of Śiva (*built*) to the north of the palace which was built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was like the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which (temple) aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumēru mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in the three worlds and acted like a stair-case to his fame marching towards heaven.

(V. 12.) He, whose vast fame was well-known and who was learned, dedicated the images of Umā, Umā mixed with Śiva (Hara-Gaurī) and Shaḍānana in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate.

(V. 13.) He who had quenched all desires of hosts of supplicants by the gift of gold which had emerged (*purified*) from burning (*i.e.*, sacrificial fire ?), built another abode for the *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Śōṇa having entered which the *Yōgins* who had exterminated anxieties caused by impediments through (*the performance of*) vows, (*who were*) free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (*fit*) for (*obtaining*) emancipation.

(V. 14.) He, the sage, for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*).

(V. 15.) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus-like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts......in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test.

(V. 16.) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining....everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhṛit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies).

(V. 17.) His (disciple) was the illustrious [**Iśānaśambhu**]......whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings.

(V. 18.) Having conquered........of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (*Śrī*) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*); (he who was?) ....in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning............

(V. 19.) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kali age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned........, of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities..........

(V. 20.) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named **Prabōdhaśiva**.......

(V. 21.) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built a maṭha*[1] *near*) the one built by his master (*i.e., guru*), which the............do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection).

(V. 22.) Also a well[2] (*was dug by him*)........and also the host of supplicants (obtained?) ....an abundant....(*even*) of what was not desired before.

(V. 23.) ....caused to be built by (*his*) good works...........

(V. 24.) ......then the high-souled one......in his abode.........

(V. 25.) ......on high on the Mahēndra or the Arbuda hills......

(V. 26.) Sāmantapāṭaka............

(V. 27.) (*In*) the family of the moon.........(*who*) taking by force the famous sword......

(V. 28.) ....having defeated the lord of the **Gūrjaras**............

(V. 29.) ....the protection of the family............

(V. 30.) ....the crest jewel................

(V. 31.) ....was born the valiant ......seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture ....

(V. 32.) From him (*was born*)........the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like....to the host of poets..

(V. 33.) From him (*was born*) the king **Kōkalladēva** who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour.........

[1] [Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *maṭha* built by Prabōdhaśiva which is also found in the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 15, v. 16.—Ed.]

[2] [For a reference to this well see also Chandrehe Inscription, v. 16.—Ed.]

(V. 34.) The Gūrjara (*lord*?) enters the Himālaya devoid of power and the lord of **Gauḍa** lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in **Vanavāsa** the lord(?) of **Kuntala........**

(V. 35.) The King **Kēyūravarsha** (*gave*)......to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured......

(Vv. 36-37.) (The villages) Pakka...., as well as Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rājyau-chchvēkō(?),......nāsapuṇḍikā,......pura, Khayēllikā(?)......Ābhīrapallī......and Sarasvatī.

(Vv. 38-40.) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha-kshētra Sāmantapāṭaka and Vaṭa......Bhadvachiurā, Tujumvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rajō (*the king*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vēdāntas.

(V. 41.) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave*?) a city crowded with citizens.

(V. 42.) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Karōḍhaka, Brahma-purī,......kapōṇḍikā and Nannēśvara-kshētra.

(V. 43.) May this allowance (*vṛitti*) to the Śaiva-ascetics granted by the illustrious **Yuva-rājadēva** last till the end of *kalpas*, being protected by the future kings.

(V. 44.) The praiseworthy **Madhu** who was the son of the illustrious Trayīvardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words.

(V. 45.) This (*praśasti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent **Śivanāga**, the son of Avvōka.

(V. 46.) (*It was*) incised by the engraver **Mādhava**....who was the son of Mahēśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman.

No. 22.—THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVA-GUPTARAJADEVA.

By Pandit L. P. Pandeya.

In October 1932, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (*via* Rāigarh, District Bilāspur, C. P.), by a gentleman in whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging.

This charter consists of **three copper-plates** each measuring about 8·1″ in length and 4·2″ in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4·2″ in diameter to which is fixed a circular **seal** measuring 1·6″ in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the **legend** in two lines, which reads :—(1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2)*rājadēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring ⅓rd of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation.

The **characters** belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

of them resemble those of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta.[1] The **language** is Sanskrit and prose throughout with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictive verses.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—The *visarga* is omitted in *namaḥ* (l. 1) and *antaḥpāti* (l. 4) ; *ī* is used for *i* in *-ābhī°*(l. 13), *Sagar-ādībhīḥ* (l. 20), etc. ; *b* and *v* have not been distinguished. The rule of *sandhi* has been overlooked in *yadi ākshara* (l. 36).

The exact **date** of the record cannot be verified from the details given in the inscription and the reading of the day of the fortnight is not certain, though it appears to be 6. Accepting this reading to be correct, the record is dated the **6th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the 11th regnal year** of the M. P. P. **Mahābhavaguptarājadēva,** the forehead ornament of the Sōma family (*Sōma-kula-tilaka*) and the Lord of Trikaliṅga. The charter records the grant of the **Liñjira** village in the neighbourhood of the Pṛithurā-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa who was the son of Chakradhara and belonged to the Kapishṭhala-*gōtra*,[2] Vasishṭha-*pravara* and the Maitrāyaṇī-*śākhā* (of the Black Yajurvēda). The donee is simply called *Bhaṭṭa* in the inscription and it is not clear whether this was his name or the usual brahmanic title. He was an inhabitant of Ullakhēṭa and had originally emigrated from Madhura in the Mid-country (*Madhya-dēśa*). The gift was made on the Siṁha-*saṁkrānti* and the record was issued from the victorious camp at Kisarakēllā. The writer of the charter was the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, the son of Dēvadatta who had emigrated from Ayōdhyāpura. The usual device on the seal of the Sōmavaṁśī kings is the *gaja-Lakshmī* but in the present inscription the device is, as has been noticed above, different and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the Early Gaṅga kings. Though the dates of the two known Mahābhavaguptas of the Sōmavaṁśa have not been properly fixed, their personal or birth names, *viz.*, Janamējaya and Bhīmaratha are usually found in their grants. But the grant under publication does not give such a name to the donor Mahābhavagupta. It is, therefore, not certain if he is to be identified with either of the Mahābhava—guptas already known or is an altogether different ruler of the family.

Of the **geographical** places mentioned in the grant **Kisarakēllā** may be identified with the village of Kesarkelā, about six miles to the east of Bolangir in the Patna State of Sambalpur District. The village **Liñjira** may be identified with the village of the same name close to Baramakēlā in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. **Pṛithurā** is the present day Pithoṛā in the Padampur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west from Sambalpur town. The distance between Pithōṛā and the Liñjira village in the Sarangarh State is about 20 miles. These two are on the opposite banks of the Mahānadī, which flows through the borders of both the Sarangarh State and the Padampur tract, forming respectively their northern and southern boundary. **Ayōdhyāpura** is to be identified with the modern Ayōdhyā in the Faizabad District of United Provinces. **Ullakhēṭa** may be the present Ulakhara village in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. It is about 20 miles to the west of Liñjira.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[4] २ नम[:*]शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] किसरकेल्लासमावासितमहाविजय-

2 कटकात्परममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिरा-

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff.

[2] This *gōtra* is mentioned in *Pāṇini*, VIII-3-91.

[3] From the original plates.

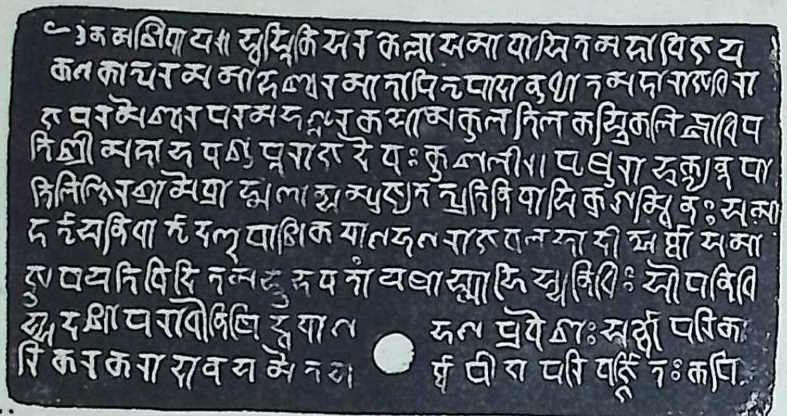
[4] Expressed by a symbol.

Seal.

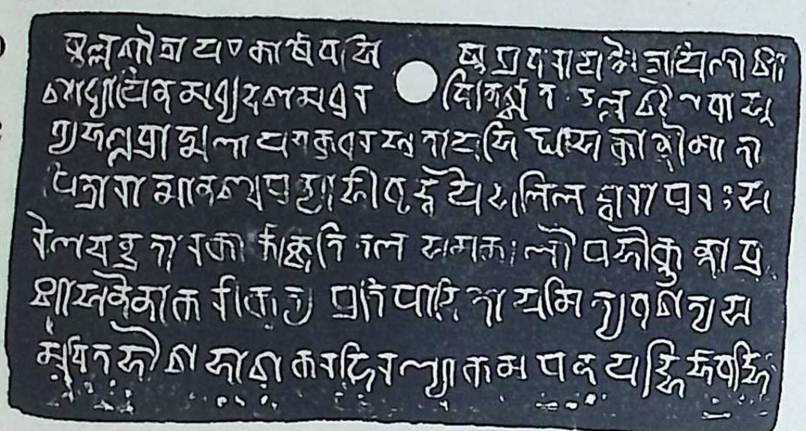


Actual size.

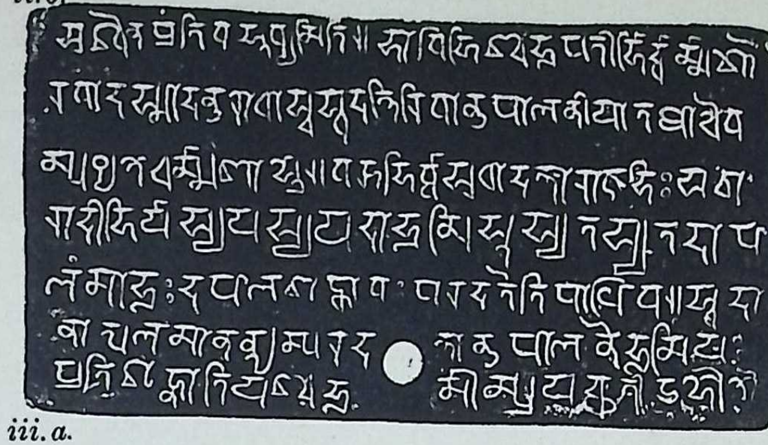
i b.



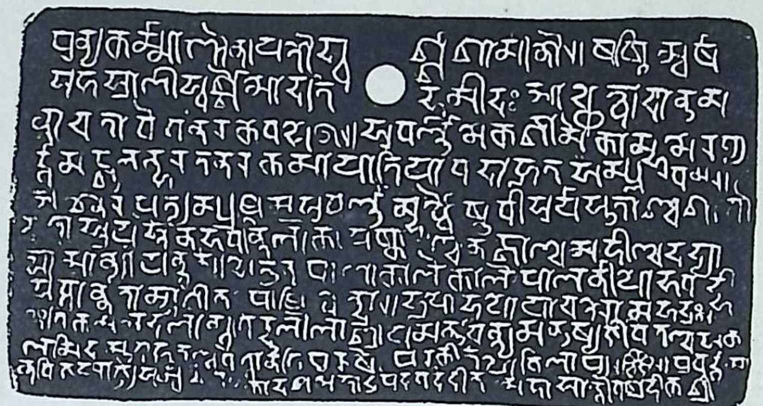
ii. a.



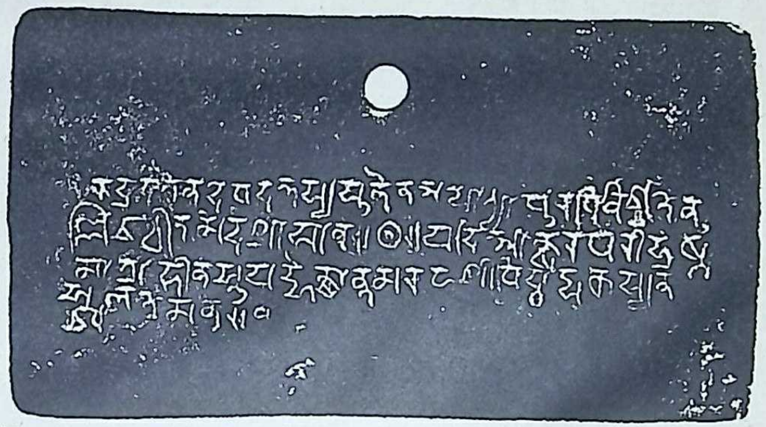
ii. b.



iii. a.



iii. b.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

N. P. Chakravarti.
REG. No. 3377 E'35-425.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

3 जपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिप-

4 तिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशली ॥ पृथुराभुक्त्यन्त[ः*]पा-

5 तितिल्झिरग्रामे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्वि(म्बि)नः समा-

6 हर्तृसन्निधातृं(तृ)दण्डपाशिकचाटभटराजवल(ल्ल)भादीत्स(न्स)र्व्वांस(न्स)मा-

7 ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिस्सनिधिः सोपनिधि-

8 स्सदशापराधो निषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सर्व्वोपरिक-

9 रिकर[1]करादा[न]समेत(तः) सर्व्वपीड़ापरिवर्ज्जितः वापि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 छल्ल(ल्ल)गोत्राय एकार्षें(कार्षि)वसिष्ठप्रवराय मैत्रायि(य)णीशा-

11 खाध्यायिने मध्यदेशमधुरविनिर्ग्गत[2] उल्लखेटवास्त-

12 व्य[3] भट्टव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय चक्रधरसुताय सिङ्ह(सिंह)सङ्क्रान्तौ माता-

13 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्याभी(ण्याभि)वृद्धये सलिलद्रा(धा)रापुरःस-

14 रेण चन्द्रतारकार्क्कक्षितितलसमकालो(लमु)पभोगुन्तांव्र(म्र)-

15 शासनेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादितोयमित्यवगत्य स-

16 मुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्या(ण्य)कमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भिः

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविभिश्च भूपतीर्भिं(तिभि)र्द्धर्म्मगौ-

18 रवादस्मा(स्म)दनुरोधा[त्] स्वस्वदत्तिरिवानुपालनीया तथा चैव-

19 म्पठ्यते धर्म्मशास्त्रे ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सग-

20 रादीभि(दिभिः) [।*] यँ(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

21 लं [॥*] माभू:(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदते(त्ते)ति पाथि(र्थि)व ।(।) स्वदा-

22 नात्फलमानन्त्यम्परदत्तानुपालने [॥*] भूमिं यः

23 प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ला)ति यश्च भूमी(मि)म्प्रयच्छती(ति) [।*] उभौ तौ

Third Plate ; First Side.

24 पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नी(नि)यतौ स्वर्ग्गगामी(मि)नौ ॥ षष्टिम्वर्षं-

25 सहस्राणी(णि) स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमी(मि)दः [।*] आच्छेत्वा(त्ता) चानुम-

26 न्ता च तावे(न्ये)व नरके वसेत् ॥ सुवर्ण्णमेकाङ्गामेकाम्भूमेरप्य-

1 Read *sarvv-ōparikara.*

2 Read *vinirggatāya.*

3 Read *vāstavyāya.*

27 ईमङ्गलन्हर[1]तनरकमायाति यावदाहूतसंम्प्न(प्ल)वम् ॥

28 अग्नेरपत्यम्प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [।*]

29 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यष्का[2]श्चनङ्गाश्च महीञ्च दद्या-

30 त्सा(त् ॥ सा)मान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुनृ(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भीः-
(द्भिः) [।*]

31 सर्व्वान्ने(ने)ताम्भा(न्भा)वी(वि)नः पार्थि(र्थि)वेन्द्रा[न्*] ॥[3] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥

32 इति कमलदलाम्वु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी-
वितञ्च [।*] सक-

33 लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलाप्य(लोप्याः) ॥
प्रवर्द्धमा-

34 नविजयराज्यसम्वत्सरे एकादशमे भाद्रपदव[दि]दी(दि)न[६] [।*] महासन्धी-
(न्धि)[वि]ग्रहीकश्री-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

35 रुद्रदत्तेन देवदत्तस्य सुतेन अयोध्यापुरविनिर्ग्गतेन

36 लिखी(लिखि)तमिदं शासान(सनम्) ॥ ⊙ ॥ यदि आचर[4]परी(रि)भ्रष्टं

37 मात्राहीनस्तु[5] यद्भे(द्भवेत्) [।*] क्षान्तमरहशीविद्वाश्च[6] कस्य न

38 स्खलते(ति) मन[:] ॥

No. 23.—DRAKSHARAMA INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I., 33RD YEAR.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The publication of the texts of South Indian Inscriptions has placed before the student of ancient Indian history a mass of material which will serve to clear up doubtful points in the history of the various dynasties of the Dekhan. The inscription edited below is one such. It is engraved on a slab in the south wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ganjām district and is registered in the Madras epigraphical collection for 1893[7] 'as being on a third slab from the bottom between the third and the fourth pillars.' The text of it in Telugu script is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume IV.[8] For the interesting historical information which it furnishes it is edited here.

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[1] Read = *aṁgulaṁ* | *haran=narakam=*

[2] Probably it was intended to write *Yaḥ kāñchanañ*

[3] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[4] Read *yad aksharaṁ* or *yady=aksharaṁ*.

[5] Read *-hīnañ=cha*

[6] Read *kshantum=arhata vidvāṁsaḥ*.

[7] No. 349.

[8] No. 1239, pages 428-9.

As will be seen from the transcript, the inscription is not well preserved. The **language** employed is Sanskrit throughout and the **alphabet** Telugu. In several cases the writer uses the *anusvāra* in place of the conjunct : see for instance *Maṇḍalaṁjēri* (l. 5). There are instances of the omission of (1) *visarga*, (2) *rēpha* and (3) *anusvāra*. For (1), see *dhara* (l. 3), *vishaya* (l. 5), *abhihita* (l. 10) ; for (2), see *dhamma* (l. 6), *kashann-* (l. 9), *kīti* (l. 9) and *hammyāya* (l. 13) ; and for (3), see *Gaṁga* (l. 10) and *tapasvinā* (l. 12). There are also few instances of needless doubling of consonants.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Chālukya-Chōḷa king **Kulōttuṅga I.** and is dated in the **33rd year of his reign** (=A.D. 1103). He is styled *Samastabhuvanāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Chōḷakulaśēkhara, Vīra-mahēndra, Vikramachōḷa, Rājarājēndra, Rājakēsarivarman*, and *Tribhuvanachakravartin*. All these epithets except the last three are not usually met with in his Tamiḻ inscriptions but are found in some of his Telugu records.

The importance of the inscription consists in recording the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as **Vaṇḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja, Tiruvaraṅga** and the crest jewel of the Śūdra family. He was the son of a certain **Śiriḷaṅgō**, a resident of **Maṇḍalañjēri** in **Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu** a subdivision of **Chōḷamaṇḍalam**. He is described as a good Vaishṇava, 'the resort of the poor' and 'the abode of heroism.' By being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḷa**, *i.e.*, **Kulōttuṅga I.**, he obtained prosperity in the world and was the very sprout of the creeper, *viz.*, his fame. At the command of the king he effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and espoused the goddess of heroism. Filling the battle-field with the blood of his foes, ploughing it with the hoofs of his war steeds, sowing therein the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants which were cut to pieces by his sword, he caused to grow his master's fame-creeper. He reduced to ashes the whole of the **Kaliṅga** country, defeated the **Gaṅga** king, destroyed in battle **Dēvēndravarman** and others, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōḍra country which was as it were the raising aloft of Rājēndrachōḷa's fame.

The immediate **object** of the inscription is to register the facts (1) that this illustrious chief constructed with black granite a temple of Vishṇu in the *agrahāra* village of **Ālavēli**, making provision for its offerings, (2) that, for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmans, and five *Vānakarmins* in its vicinity he gave some lands at Ōlarāppākkam (3) and that he provided also for offerings to the temple of Pañchavaṭī-Hari on the banks of the **Gōdāvarī** in **Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam.** Reference is made in the damaged portion at the end of the inscription to a pavilion, probably erected by him, at Drākshārāma.

The proper import of the inscription can be well estimated with the help of the Tamiḻ work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ composed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The book says that the king, while he was yet a *yuvarāja*, led an expedition into the north and destroyed Chakkara-kkōṭṭam (X, v. 23) : then went to the south and was crowned there (*ibid*, v. 34). After removing the chaotic condition that was prevailing in that part of the land, he was conducting his rule with justice, pleasing himself by hunting on the banks of the Kāvērī. After some time he set out with all his paraphernalia for *parivēṭṭai* on the banks of the Pālāṟu (*ibid*, v. 47), reached Adigai where he worshipped the god Naṭarāja and proceeded to Kāñchī. By the way, reference is made to his conquest of the Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings (*ibid*, vv. 66-68). On an occasion when he was seated there in the *chitramaṇḍapa* on the western side of his palace, surrounded by his ministers Vaṇḍaimāṉ-Toṇḍaiman and others,—provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalikas*) and kings waiting at his gate,—it was reported to him that the king of the north Kaliṅgas had failed to pay his tribute twice (*i.e.*, for two years) (XI, vv. 3, 4, 16 and 27). On the emperor's ordering that the Kaliṅga country should be subdued and its king brought there, Vaṇḍainagar-araśaṉ, who is variously

called Karuṇākaraṉ, Pallavarkōṉ, and Vaḷavaivēndaṉ, (vv. 52-54) volunteered to undertake the invasion of the seven Kaliṅgas, and, obtaining the king's permission, set out on his march (vv. 29-31). On the way, he successively crossed such rivers as the Pālāṟu, Poṉmugari, Peṇṇai, Pērāṟu, Gōdāvarī, Pampānadī, and Gōtamai (vv. 55-57). The fight that ensued was a severe one in which many were killed and wounded. "Invading Kaliṅgam at the sea," says the book, "planting a pillar of victory, capturing elephants and treasure, Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ secured the grace of the feet of Abhaya of powerful army and sword (XII, v. 68)." The poem closes with an exhortation to sing the achievements of the king, *viz.*, the defeat of the five Pāṇḍyas and the Chēra king, the tribute that was being brought from the north; and also the fame of the cities Vaṇḍai, Mayilai and Mallai and of their chief, Toṇḍaiyarvēndaṉ who, capturing the elephants of the Kaliṅgas, bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on the king (XIII. v. 65). Verse 44 of Canto II (*Kaḍaitirappu*) states in unambiguous words that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief led the expedition to Kaliṅga and reduced it.

It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the account about the Kaliṅga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication. There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same. This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented. The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vaṇḍuvarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karuṇākaraṉ and Toṇḍaimāṉ, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja. With Karuṇākara we may compare the epithet *dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ* of the inscription. This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vaṇḍai, Mallal and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon. Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kaliṅga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarman and others with the help of Kōsala. Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Ōḍra country.

The name Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān is not unknown to inscriptions. In the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, there is an inscription of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I., dated in the 43rd year of his reign with the introduction *pugaḻ-mādu*, registering a grant made by Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷaṉi-Maṇḍaiyāḻvār, the wife (*dēviyār*) of Vēḷāṉ Karuṇākaran Toṇḍaimāṉ. Here it is stated that the chief was a native of Vaṇḍalañjēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Chōḷamaṇḍalam. The name of the donor and the temple to which the gift was made may be taken to show that Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān professed the Vaishṇava creed while the title Vēḷāṉ is indicative of his being a Śūdra by caste and these facts are in accord with what is reported in the Drākshārāma inscription. Vaṇḍalañjēri is but a variant of Maṇḍalañjēri and Vaṇḍai is perhaps connected with it. The subdivision to which the village belonged is the same in the two inscriptions: and it may be noted that Tirunaṟaiyūr and Vaṇḍalañjēri are places in the Kumbakōṇam *taluk*.

Having shown how the two documents *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and Drākshārāma inscription refer to the same Kaliṅga war, we here take up the question regarding the date of this war. Before doing so, it may be useful to know if there was only one war with Kaliṅga or more. As the earliest notice of the conquest of Kaliṅga in the records of Kulōttuṅga I.—without any mention of the details connected with it—occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign corresponding to A.D. 1096 and as this is found repeated in the inscriptions of the

30th year and after,[1] one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign[2] refer to an invasion of Kaliṅga in which the king himself is said " to have left his throne, crossed the Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam in the north, set fire to Kaliṅga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kaliṅgam[3]." From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A.D. 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttuṅga I. do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōḷa kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kaliṅga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kaliṅga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttuṅga I., *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the capture of Śālai and the destruction of Viḷiñam with a passing reference to Navilai and Maṇalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchī while the chief Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ, at his instance, invaded Kaliṅga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., who, according to the Vṛihatkōḍila grant, bore that surname[4] and had his coronation performed in A.D. 1070, the very year in which Kulōttuṅga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōḍagaṅga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. reigned for 8 years[5], *i.e.*, up to A.D. 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII., for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēṅgī which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōḷas, Rājarāja of Kaliṅganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region.[6] Here is evidence to show that Rājarāja was an enemy of his Chōḷa contemporary who was none other than Kulōttuṅga I. Thus the invasion of Kaliṅga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vaṇḍuvarāja-Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttuṅga I. as detailed in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A.D. 1078 and probably about A.D. 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the Kaliṅga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

[1] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 777, 782 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

[2] No. 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No. 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. and have the same introduction.

[3] *S. I. I.* (*Texts*), Vol. IV, No. 445 lines 22 to 27; the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

[4] C. P. No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918-19.

[5] His coronation took place in Saka 992, Jyēshṭha, śu. 8 (= A.D. 1070, May 20) (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1918-19, p. 86) and that of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in Saka 999 (= A.D. 1078) (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 161ff).

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

made between the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III., the father of Rājarāja I., and Vīrarājēndra whom practically Kulōttuṅga I. succeeded. The Kanyākumari inscription of Vīrarājēndra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga which were neglected by his two predecessors.[1] In his Tamil historical introductions, Vīrarājēndra actually claims to have driven the Chālukyas at Vijayavāḍai, *i.e.*, Bezwada, and crossing the seven Kaliṅgas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.[2] This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1065. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Vīrarājēndra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1066 against Vijayabāhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kaliṅga and to have defeated the Chālukyas and their allies at Chakkarakkōṭṭam.[3] It might be on this last occasion, *i.e.*, immediately before Kulōttuṅga's assumption of power, that the Kaliṅgas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōḷas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kaliṅga war of Vaṇḍuvarāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidvān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words '*adipan vīram*' which has been changed into '*Anantapanman*' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drākshārāma inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kaliṅga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the introduction of the name Anantapanman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vaṇḍuvarāja conduct two wars against Kaliṅga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvēndravarman in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvēndravarman, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A. D. 1074-5.[4] This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A. D. 1074-5 but was actually crowned in A. D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, *i.e.*, in the period A. D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvēndravarman

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

[2] See above Vol. XXI, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 244

[4] Nos. 246, 380, 386, 387, 388, 392 and 393 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājarāja I. and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kaliṅga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndravarman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are **Ālavēli**, **Ōlarāppākkam**, and **Drākshārāma**. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

TEXT.

1 ....

2 prāk-pratyag-dakshiṇ-ā[śā-vi]ja..

3 [dhara][ḥ*] śrī-**Kulōttuṁgga**[1]**-Chōḍaḥ**[||*] Svasti[||*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-Śrī-Pṛithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramē[śvara]-[Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ravi-kula-tilaka-Chōḷa][2]-kula-śēkhara-Pāṇḍya-kul-āṁtaka-[Samasta-rājāśraya-Rāja]-[3]

4 rājēṁdra[3]-Vīramahēṁdra-Vikramachōḍa-Vijayābharaṇa-śrī-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇas=Tribhuvanachakravartti-śrī-Kulōttu[ṁga-Chōḍadēvasya] trayas-triṁśatimē saṁvatsarē..... **Chōḍama-**

5 **ṇḍalam**=akhila-mahī-maṇḍanaṁ lasaj-jana-sēvyaṁ tasmin=[4]**Tirinaṟayūr-nāḍ**-iti vishaya[ḥ*] sarva-sasya-śō[bhi]taḥ tatr=āsīt=sukha-dhāmani **Maṇḍalaṁjēri** viśrutā lōkē puṇṇāga-........kāsti purī.

6 j-ēti rambh-āḍhyā [||*] Tan-mukhyas=**Sīralaṁgōv**[5]=ity=āsīt sach-chhūdra-puṁgavaḥ [|*] satya-tyāga-dayā-yuktō Vaishṇavō dha[r*]mma-vatsalaḥ[6][||*] Tasy=ātmajas=**Ti[ruva]raṁga**-var-ābhidhānas=sad-vaishṇavō jagati dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ [|*] satya-

7 ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ —śrita-vīra-lakshmī **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa**-charaṇ-āśraya-[la]pdha[7]-Lakshmīḥ[8] [||*] Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-dharaṇīpati-kīrtti-vallī-sat-pallavō ◡ ◡ ◡ — llavarāja-nāmā [|*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan-ātapa-vāraṇ-aika-śaṁkha-dhvaja-pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuḥ[9][||*]

8 Kṛitvā dig-vijayan=nihatya cha ripūn=Rājēṁdra-Chōḍ-ājñayā vīra-śrī-lalanā-svayaṁ-vṛita-patir=yyaś=Chōḍa-chaṁdraḥ prabhuḥ [|*] yat-prasthāpita-daṁti-(da)dāna-salila-klinnaṁ prabhōḥ prāṁgaṇaṁ tach-chhauryyaṁ dvishatāṁ kapāla-ni-

9 vahā gāyaṁti vāyu-cha(chchha)lāt[10][||*] Ka[r*]shaṇ=aśva-khurair=dvishāṁ su-rudhirair=āpūrayann=āhava-kshētraṁ tīvra-kṛipāṇa-kṛitta-radanī=prōnmukta-muktāṁ[kurān] uptvā kī[r*]tti-latāṁ vivardhayati yō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōs=sō=yaṁ [**Vaṇḍu**]-

10 **varāja** ity-abhihita[ḥ*] sach-chhūdra-chūḍāmaṇiḥ[11] [||*] Bhasmīkṛitya **Kaliṁga-dēśam**=akhilaṁ nirjjitya **Gaṁga**[**ṁ***] raṇē bhaṅ[k*]tvā Kōsala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahair=[**Dē**] **vēṁdravarm**-ādikān [|*] vīraḥ **Pallavarāja** ity=abhihitō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōḥ kīrtty-uttambham=iv=**Ōḍra**-saṁdhishu jayastaṁbhaṁ śubha[ṁ]

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[1] Read *Kulōttuṅga*.

[2] The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, *e.g.*, No. 1248 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 433.

[3] Here and in what follows the writer uses *anusvāra* for the conjunct.

[4] Read *Tirunaṟaiyūr*.

[5] Read *Sīriḷaṅgō*.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] Read *labdha*.

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

11 nyakshipat[1][||*] Sō=yaṁ śrīmān=**Ālavēly**-agrahārē nirmmāy=ālan=nīla-pāshāṇa-baddhaṁ [|*] ramyaṁ harmmyaṁ svasya kīrtty-ankurābhaṁ[2] bhuṁjan=viśvaṁ varttatē tasya Vishṇōḥ[3] [||*] Divyaṁ [rū]paṁ śrī-nivāsaṁ 'vichitraṁ kṛitvā tattr=aiv=ākarōt=tat-pratishṭāṁ[4] [|*] bhūmiṁ

12 krītv=āsmai vyadād=atra bhaktyā grāmē dhīmān=ēsha nity-āmṛitāya ||[5] Chakrē Brahmēśvar-ōpāṁtē paṁchānāṁ cha tapasvinā[ṁ*] [|*] daśānāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ cha paṁchānāṁ Vānakarmmiṇāṁ [||*][6] Bhōktuṁ tri[ṁ*]śat-khaṇḍikā-vrīhi-bīj-āvāpa-kshētrān=**Ōlarāpāka**-nāmni [|*] grā[mē]

13 — — — ᴗ ḍirāya — — krītvā prādāt=tat-kar-ābhyaṁtarēṇa[7] [||*] **Vēṁgī-maṇḍala**-maṇḍanē pravila — — — ᴗ — — ᴗ — — — lē prabhav=āpy=asahya-duritā **Gōdā**-[**varī**] tat-taṭē [|*] śrīmat-Paṁchavaṭī-Harēr=bBhagavatō ha[r*]mmyāya — — ᴗ —

14 ....[8]ṛti-vishayē..........prādād=amṛitāya vidi[ta]m=āchaṁdr-ārkkaṁ || Sa tu **Guddavādi-vishayē**......

15 ....ma-yuktā...maṁḍapaṁ....**Dāksharāmē**[9] purē=tra....tē [dha]nyair=vvadānyair=yutē kṛitvā **Pallavarāja**..............

16 tasmād=dharmō na haṁtavyō rakshaṇīyō manīshibhiḥ || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēti(a) vasuṁdharāṁ [*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi......jāya[tē krimiḥ] [||*].. ṭaḥ Vilēkhakō **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍāchāryyaḥ**[10][||*]

TRANSLATION.

..........victory of the eastern, western and southern quarters.....the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa.** Hail! In the thirty-third year (*of the reign*) of Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, the resort of all the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth. *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the ornament of the solar race, the foremost of the Chōḷa family, the (*god of*) death to the Pāṇḍya family, the refuge of all kings, (*styled*) Rājarājēndra, Vīramahēndra, Vikrama-Chōḍa and Vijayābharaṇa.....**Chōḍamaṇḍala** (*is*) the ornament of the whole world and is the resort of illustrious men: therein is the division of **Tirinaṟaiyūr-nāḍu** which is resplendent with all kinds of crops: in that (*division*), the resort of happiness, is the city of **Maṇḍalañjēri**, well known in the world and (*filled with ?*) *punnāga* (*trees*). The chief of it was **Śirilaṅgō**, the foremost among the good Śūdras, possessing the qualities of truthfulness, generosity and compassion, a Vaishṇava and (*one*) devoted to *dharma*. His son, who bore the good name **Tiruvaraṅga**, was a good Vaishṇava, the sole resort of the poor in this world, the abode of the goddess of heroism.....and truth, and had obtained prosperity by being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḍa.** He, named [Pa]llavarāja, was the fine sprout of the creeper of fame of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, the lord of the earth...and was like the arm of the kingdom decorated with the insignia of royalty (?) such as the *chāmara*, the parasol that wards off rain and heat, the conch, the flag, etc. By the order of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, this chief Chōḍachandra effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and was voluntarily espoused as lord by the goddess of heroism. The courtyard of his master was made wet

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[2] Read *aṁkurābhaṁ*.
[3] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[4] Read *pratishṭhāṁ*.
[5] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[7] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[9] Read *Drākshārāmē*.
[10] The last two lines, which are found in the text on p. 429 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, are not in the impression.

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